768 775 "If it is the man who is dead, then the woman takes her girl children to live with her, but her sons she sends away to live elsewhere. A man's spirit will not harm his daughters. He loves them. But his sons, he will kill. . . . When a woman dies, then it is the sons that the man will keep with him in the house, and the daughters must go away. The yorka of a woman will protect her sons, but she will destroy the daughters when she visits the place where she once lived."

5

602 851 To her child the Bush Negro mother gives at birth membership in all her own blood groups. The child is of her *wosu*, or household. He belongs to her *mbv*, or great family, which is an aggregate of many households. He is a member of her *lo*, or clan, which is composed of a number of great families, and which holds political sway over a given portion of the land. The tie of all these groupings is a blood 613 tie, a common female ancestress who lived long ago, or several women, daughters of the same mother, who had been the first to live with the runaway ancestors here in the bush, or several women who came from one people in Africa, and were the first to bear children to the rebels in the jungle. Every legal, every economic implication which this tradition of descent and inheritance through the female line might hold, is faithfully adhered to.

611 593 The mother does indeed count, as the tales told us in the city insisted. But what of the father?

842 532 That the Bush Negro understands fully the rôle that both father and mother play in the procreation of the young was everywhere apparent. The wood carving which a father made for his young daughter had designs on it of the kind which bore the general designation "*womi ku' muye*—man and woman." Whatever the traceries on the carvings given by a man to his woman during courtship, or after marriage, whatever animals might be represented, the essential symbolism was that of fertility, and the

There are also a few villages, belonging to this tribe, situated 619
on the lower Saramacca River, like Santi Gron, Toti Camp, 361
and Maka-Creekee. On the distant Surinam is located the poetically named village of Futu No Habbe Ackaba, The Foot That Has No Resting Place.

Every tribe is divided into several clans, or *lo*, and these lo 621
are subdivided into groups of families, called *m'beh*, relation- 614
ship being counted through the female line. These groupings 613
are direct survivals of the slave days, descendants of groups of fugitives who fled into the bush together. Among the Saramaccaners there is the *Abaisa lo* of which our friend Abaisa is the chief. Another lo is called the *Inge Peecee lo*, meaning "piece of Indian clan," referring to the marriage of a lone Indian squaw with a rebel slave, back in the old days. There is the *Companyi Nengre lo*, or "Company Negro clan" of blacks descended from the slaves who escaped from the Dutch West India Company. The *Dahomey lo* is a group
of families especially skilled in the art of healing broken [759]
bones. Then there is a priesthood clan, the *Domini lo*, descended from the slaves of a plantation owner named Levy. Among the other lo are: *Matchaw* (meaning axe), *Vondrake* (from a Dutch family named Van Drachte), *Baison Nengre*, *Lauwangu*, *Nasi*, *Betu*, *Camu*, *Quama*, *Papoto*, and the *Awahna lo* at Ganzee.

At a strategic location on the Little Surinam River, the 361
Pekein Rio, dwells the Gramman Jankoeso. His village is ten days up the river from Ganzee. It is situated in this inaccessible spot, on an especially fierce and rapid tributary, pur-

B
R /509 cont./
121 October 1958 – January 1959), expeditions whose principal aim
114 was the sociological study of these populations.
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/510/

Social Structure and Way of Life

B
101 The Boni Refugee Blacks. The Boni are one of the above-mentioned
[175] tribes of the Refugee Blacks, reconstituted in the course of the eighteenth century by rebel African slaves who escaped from
J Surinam plantations (Dutch Guiana).

[131] These tribes (Saramaka, Djuka, Paramaka, Boni) live for the
[161] most part along the rivers of the interior of Surinam. They group together a total of 25,000 persons.

B
161 With very rare exceptions, the Refugee Blacks are pure Africans.
[144] These populations, vigorous and well adapted to the country, have experienced in the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries a remarkable demographic increase, attested to by all the authors. Descended from small rebel groups which could not have contained more than a few hundred women, they are now estimated at more than 25,000 persons.

J
162 The Boni of the Upper Maroni, the subject of the present study,
103 number approximately 800, of whom 660 are on the French bank
[161] (the villages of Boniville, l'Enfant Perdu, Loka, Asisi, Papaïton, and Kormotibo) and 140 on the Surinam bank (the village of Kotika). These villages were established long ago.

B
● 613 Each of them groups together a matrilineage, i.e., the
621 descendants in the uterine line of one single founding ancestress;
769 certain villages know their genealogy in its entirety back to this ancestress, who must have lived at the end of the eighteenth century. The members of the lineage are united by the cult of the
B ancestors, which binds them firmly to their natal village and to
[622] their land. The social system is based essentially on this cult,
[793] the chief of the village being above all the priest of the ancestors.

B Strictly speaking, there is no marriage, but only an acknowl-
581 edged concubinage which entails neither a contract between the

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161 Thus during the period 1895 to 1925, the Boni population
[128] doubled with each generation. These results are confirmed by
(173) the study of the genealogies. The present-day Boni, with the
exception of about 5% of them who belong to recently founded
● [613] lineages, are descended by known filiation from seven women
who lived at the end of the eighteenth century.

It is possible that before the period to which this inquiry refers epidemics were produced and struck certain villages in particular, destroying entire lineages. In fact we cannot say anything certain about the evolution of the population before 1890. Let us only remember that this rate of reproduction of 200% per generation of 31 years represents the normal rate for the Refugee Blacks, in the absence of large epidemics and of venereal diseases and before any medical aid.

During the period 1925-1942, the Boni population did not vary (rate of reproduction $\frac{105}{100}$).

Since 1940, it has been increasing slightly, by 23% per 27 years, that is just under 1% per year.

163 Birth rate and mortality rate. Demographic balance. From 1
165 January 1956 to 31 December 1957, i.e., in two years, 39
children were born in the villages on the French bank (660
persons), and 21 persons died (including 5 children born during
this period).

Rate of birth: 2.9% per year.

Rate of mortality: 1.6% per year.

161 Rate of increase: 1.3% per year.

The rate of increase of 1.3%, which corresponds incidentally
to the theoretical calculation indicated above, is very much be-
low that of the population of Cayenne and of the communes of
[164] the coast. If one considers that before 1920 it reached the re-
markable value of 3% per year, one realizes the extent of the
disaster brought about by venereal diseases.

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[For additional demographic and social information, see the "Table of the Population of the Boni Villages," on pp. 479-539, category 116. Included are data on the number of children per woman, the number of deaths by age and sex, the name of the guardian (usually, but not necessarily a parent) who was responsible for raising a particular individual, personal names of the Boni, marital residence and residence changes by specific individuals, marriage practices, including polygynous unions and secondary marriages, cases of divorce, and lineage/sib affiliations of each individual.]

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[For further information concerning the lineage/sib organization and membership of the Boni, with associated data on age, sex, and ethnic affiliations, see the genealogical charts on pp. 542-575, category 116.]

/17 cont./

162 —On the Lawa a group of a little less than 680 persons is
103 settled on the French bank (villages of Agodé (Boniville), Asisi,
361 Loka, Tabiki (l'Enfant Perdu), Lapé (La Paix), and Papaïsson).

—In proximity to this grouping subsists under Dutch control the village of Kotika (Cottica), grouping about 150 persons.

—In the region of Abounasounga two small groupings live in symbiosis with the Djuka. Finally, in the lower course of the Maroni exist three villages: Apatu, Ma Imma, and Wétiti. The whole represents about 150 persons.

361 These villages are stable: Kotika, Lapé, Asisi, Kormotibo
182 were already in existence at the beginning of the 19th century
[195] and their names figure in the report of the Franco-Dutch border
mission of 1861; by contrast, farming habitations are moved according
to the necessities of agriculture and fishing; thanks to this
organization, a relatively numerous grouping can, in the interior
of Guiana, in spite of conditions imposed by the geographical
environment, conserve complete stability and a firm attachment
[171] to the ground. It is useful to compare this organization with the
basic instability of the Indians of Guiana, for it shows very well
that this instability is ascribable to psychological and sociological
factors and not at all to the geographic environment.

101 The Boni designate themselves by the term Aluku nenge.
The meaning of this word is forgotten. It is possible that Aluku
was the name of an ancient chief, or of the founding ancestress
• [613] of a lineage. On this subject it is to be noted that the name of
the most ancient ancestress known of the Dju lineage, who can be
thought of as living at the end of the 18th century, was called
[175] Aluku. This name has been used since the origin of the tribe;
[103] indeed one reads in the interrogation of the woman prisoner conducted
in 1847 by the French at Oyapok that her village was
called Loukou (1).

/17 cont./

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113 1. Archives du Ministère de la France d'Outre-Mer. Guyane /Archives of the Ministry of Overseas France, Guiana/. A3-02.

611 /18/ Villages and Kin Groups

Among all the kinship systems which existed in the African tribes from which they issued, the Refugee Blacks came back unanimously, and from the beginning, to matrilineal filiation.

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● 613
643 Their social system is symbiosis, under the authority of the grand man, of a certain number of localized matrilineal kin groups.

613 Matrilineal kin groups of the Boni. With the Boni the basic grouping is the lineage, in the rigorous sense of the term, understanding by that all descendants in maternal line from a single ancestress.

To designate the kin groups the Boni employ almost interchangeably the words lo (troop, band) and bèè, womb. In fact these expressions correspond to two variant interpretations of the same notion:

[614] lo: matrilineage in the widest sense, understanding by that all persons knowing that they are issue of the same ancestress, even if the genealogical ties are forgotten, and even if these persons are scattered in several villages under different authorities;

bèè lineage fraction grouped in one village and constituting a distinct social unit.

The lineage bears a name whose origin is forgotten by present-day Boni: some of these names allude to a plantation or to a slave-owner, for example Lapé (La Paix: a plantation of the Cottica River); as for others, the name of the founding ancestress may be involved. Example: Kawina (name of the lineage constituting the village of Papaïsson).

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•613 [621] Six lineages (1) of ancient founding are counted among the

[178] 1. It seems that in the past there was a greater number of groups (they continue to use the expression twalffuyu lo, the 12 lo, to designate the Boni nation), but some have died out.

Boni: all, with one single exception, have remained effective groupings corresponding each one to a village: for these lineages the words bɛɛ and lo may be used indiscriminately. The seventh, Dipélu, is distributed in three villages under different authorities, that is, forms three lo.

[614] The lo possesses a head (hedeman or captain). The bɛɛ possesses neither head nor organization, but as we shall show, its members are united by religious ties and meet to celebrate common rites.

(See table on the following page.)

[643] The head of the Dikan lo is supreme chief — grand man — of the Boni.

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lo	Village of residence	Head in 1956
Dikan	Boniville village	Difo (grand man)
Dju	Assisi village; a small group in Boniville	Adiiso
Lapé	Loka and Lapé Tabiki villages; a small group in Boniville	Popo
Dipélu I	l'Enfant Perdu and Apatu villages; a small group in Boniville	Bebon (l'Enfant Perdu) Saka (Apatu)
Dipélu II	Kormotibo village; a fraction in Assisi	Poopu
Kotika (Yakuhi)	Kotika village; a group in Aburasunga	Nachinengé
Papaïchton (Mawina)	Papaïchton village; a small group in Boniville a small group in the Lower Maroni (Wénti village)	Tafamé

/19 cont./

613 621 591 The principle of localization of matrilineal kin groups, each in a separate village, continues respected. However, as in all African populations, the actual structure is noticeably different from the theoretical organization:

1st. Fragments of paternal kin groups, as well as several small groups of heterogeneous origin, insufficient in number to form a separate unit, have been agglomerated with the lo. Such is the case for example of the Tolina lineage, a small group which fled from Surinam at the end of the 19th century and agglomerated with the Papatonon lo;

[598] 2nd. Scissions have been produced within the lo as a result of disagreements. A group issuing from the Papatonon lo founded Wéziti village in the Lower Maroni beside Apatu. A group issuing from the Kotika lo founded Ma Imera village in the same region. Finally, from the Dipèlu II lo a group separated which settled in Asisi. Asisi village is thus in fact nowadays the juxtaposition of three villages: Asisi-Dyu, Asisi-Awara Bakka, Asisi-Dipèlu II, each having its organization and its separate territory.

[829] These scissions have no appreciable repercussions on the social life of the Boni, for the groups thus separated from the lo, in addition to being very small in numbers, are not recognized by [669] the grand man as distinct social units. They remain subject to the head of the lo to which ancestor worship attaches them.

361 613 621 Besides the residence villages, a certain number of Boni have personal farming habitations distributed on the lands of their lineage along both banks of the river and on the islands. These habitations designated by the word kãpu, camp, have no permanent character; their existence does not violate the principle of localization of the lineage; each Boni is obliged at least in principle to build a house in his native village and to live in it part of the year. [769] The village of origin of each /lo/ lineage is called "great village"; [778] it is there that the members of the group meet to pray to the ancestors in front of the fraga tiki.

/20 cont./

613 971 Thus the lo appears to us above all as a social and political unit, based in principle on matrilineal relationship but easily able to welcome heterogeneous elements. It is the framework by means of which the individual is integrated into the collectivity.

614 Functions of the lineage (bee).

—Members of the same bee form a joint group from the legal point of view, even if they do not live in the same village and are under different authorities. They recognize a common legal responsibility; for example, they are obliged, at least in principle, to pay the debts contracted by one of them. Reciprocally, the inheritance of one of them is shared among them all.

614 784 —They have the same religious responsibility, that is, they are subject to the same kunu. The kunu is a curse called down upon a group by a divinity since an ancient era. It is transmitted exclusively by the mother. We shall show in the remainder of this work the considerable importance of this notion in the social life of the Refugee Blacks.

614 —They cannot (at least in principle) contract a union with one another. The bee thus constitutes in principle the unit subject to the law of exogamy.

[835] An offense against exogamy, pikadu, incest in the wide sense, is regarded as very grave.

613 Functions of the lo: The lo transposes onto the material plane the legal principles resulting from the conception of the lineage: joint rights over land, common legal responsibility. Each of them forms a social unit in principle sufficient unto itself, possessing an ancestor worship peculiar to it, a head acting the role of ancestor priest and judge, materially grouped in one village, enjoying exclusive rights over a well-defined soil.

/20 cont./

613 We have said that the recently founded lineages, being of
591 only very small size, cannot constitute a distinct social unit and are placed under the authority of one of the lo heads. That is not a condition imposed by force or any moral coercion whatever, but a practical social necessity. A lineage, reduced in numbers though it may be, keeps in the eyes of the Refugee Blacks imprescriptible collective rights; and if these members agree to group in a separate village and work separate soil, nobody will stand in their way.

128 Such are the elements which stand out after a first study of
613 the kin groups as it can be deduced from interrogating the heads
614 of these units. It leaves unresolved some important problems:

(115) The Boni have the idea that their kin groups are lineages
[821] in the real sense of the term. Nevertheless, questioning on genealogies does not permit all to /21/ go back to the founding ancestress. Three of them, the most important numerically, prove in this respect to be divided into several fractions. Can we be sure that these fractions are actually of the same origin and that the people concerned are not deceiving themselves in believing it? In the social structure of the Refugee Blacks are there no mechanisms leading toward assimilation, to fusion of groups of heterogeneous origin?

We cannot answer these questions directly. First of all it is indispensable to study the conception that the Boni have of kinship ties within the matrilineage. Then we shall examine the genealogical tables of the various lineages, and for those that the study of genealogies shows to be divided into several fractions, we shall study the interrelations of these fractions.

601 Kinship within the matrilineage: The kinship terms translate a
613 purely classificatory system. The principle of classificatory kinship

/21 cont./

601 has been pushed by the Refugee Blacks to its extreme limit with-
613 out any attenuation. Everything turns on the number of generations separating from the founding ancestress. Age does not come into it. The fact of belonging to an older or younger branch with respect to such-and-such an ancestress does not come into it, either. The custom of the Refugee Blacks is hostile to any discrimination which could lead to a scission of the lineage.

At the same number of generations from the foundress, they call one another uniformly brother, *baala*, or sister, *sisa*, without consideration of age or degree of relationship. Absolutely no nuance exists in the language to differentiate the brother proper from the brother in the classificatory sense.

The people closest to the foundress of a generation are uniformly called uncles, *tiyu*, or aunts, *tiya*.

601 The thinking of the Refugee Blacks on the subject of kinship
602 centers above all around knowledge of those ties which can be
613 called horizontal; they consider them as ties in fact which they were taught in early childhood, and few of them worry about knowing the exact origin of them. It is enough for them to know
[814] that N... is their brother and M..., their uncle. Knowledge of the genealogies remains the province of the most wide-awake minds; the others take no heed.

602 This conception of kinship permits the maintenance of the
613 unity of a lineage even when the genealogical ties are forgotten
614 and when the group is in this respect cut into several fractions. The members of the lineage can be unaware of this fractioning, as we have observed in several cases.

[601] Thus in Figure 3[3/A] (fictitious example), Adam knows he must call Baĩna brother, Afanis uncle, and Sota nephew.

[104] That is why we use the term extended lineage to translate the word *bee* (1).

[3/A] [See category 116, P. 31--Analyst]

/21 cont./

602 1. This conception of kinship
● 613 is also found among the Agni of
614 the Ivory Coast and the Fon of
171 Dahomey; it may be widespread
in Black Africa, especially in
populations with matrilineal filiation.

601 /22/ This conception, associated with that of the kunu, con-
602 flicts with the fractioning of lineages on the religious plane, even
613 when a scission has taken place on the plane of residence. The
614 rigor of the principle laid down, the quasi-mathematical trans-
284 mission from one generation to the next of appellations based on
571 rank relative to the foundress, prohibits the thought that elements
foreign to the lineage can be integrated into this system by any
process whatever. Nevertheless, a doubt remains as to the possi-
bility of assimilating fragments with paternal kinship, for in paternal
kinship the same principle of classificatory kinship rules, and the
same appellations are used. We shall show that such a process of
assimilation actually exists on the social plane, but that it is in-
conceivable on the religious plane, the kunu always being trans-
mitted by the mother. /Fig. 3 appears here./

602 Knowledge of genealogical ties is very variable from one
613 lineage to another. Outside of the great splits like Dipélu I-Dipélu
614 II, we have demonstrated that small fractions of several lineages
could no longer be attached to the main trunk, the genealogical
ties being irremediably lost. The people concerned had never
realized this; they had never wondered about it. This was the
case particularly:

—With Samma's descendants (Dipélu II, Asisi);

—With the group of Atili's descendants (Lapé, Boniville).

[178] In both cases the split was very recent; old men dead for only a few years knew the genealogical ties now lost.

/22 cont./

613 [641] **Situation of the lineages in 1958.**

The Dikan lineage, whose head is the grand man of the Boni, has practically died out, since it is comprised of only Grand Man Difu: upon his death it will totally disappear (1).

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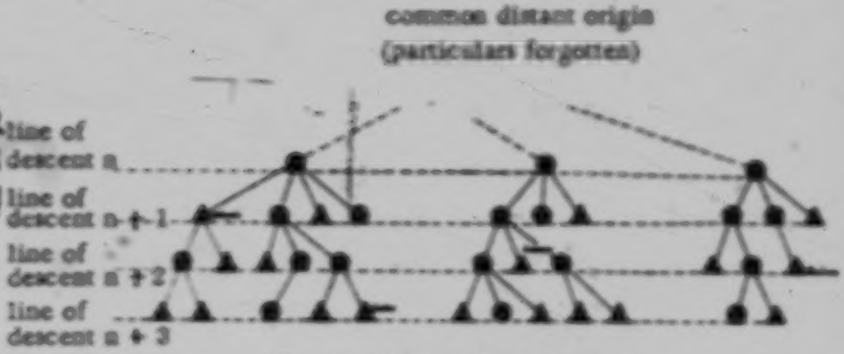
common distant origin
(particulars forgotten)
line of descent n
line of descent n + 1
line of descent n + 2
line of descent n + 3

Fig. 3. Extended matrilineage.

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1. Note that a Dikan lo exists among the Djuka: the separation of the Dikan-Djuka and the Dikan-Boni is necessarily anterior to the battles of 1793, which shows the ancientness of these groups.

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For two generations the various lineages have delegated some of their members /23/ to the grand man to conserve a certain importance for his village. Thus Agodé (Boniville) now includes fragments of the Kotika, Dipélu, Lapé, Dju, and Papaĩiton lineages, forming that many individualized small quarters in the village.

/23 cont./

621 Agodé was founded by Grand Man Ochi, probably about
175 1895, at the time when the Boni were required by the settlement
[166] of the Lawa Dispute to evacuate the villages they were occupying
on the Surinam bank. The name Boniville was given by the gold
[103] miners; it was used never at all by the Boni.

621 The Yakubi or Kotika lineage forms the important village
613 of Kotika (1). It is one of those which have remained best grouped.
[103]
[423] Its members have exclusive rights over the region included between
[241] Abunasunga Falls and their village. They have farmed there for
[103] more than a century, and this is why the region is called Abattis
Kotika.

613 Kotika is the oldest Boni village. It is one of those founded
621 by the survivors of the battles against the Dutch when, about
175 1815, they settled again on the Lawa. Until about 1895 nearly
[648] all the Boni were grouped in one large village, each lineage occupying a different quarter. At the time of the settlement, unfavorable to France, of the Lawa Dispute (1895), the various
lineages emigrated, founding especially the villages of l'Enfant
Perdu, Loka, Boniville, and Papaïston. Only the members of
the Kotika lineage stayed, in full agreement with the grand man,
so that the ancestral land might not be completely abandoned.
[648] Thus the inhabitants of this village are nowadays under the
authority of Surinam, without ceasing, for that reason, to be
[628] faithful to the grand man and maintaining normal relations with
the other groups.

613 The genealogies reconstituted in 1957 by systematic interro-
614 gation of the old people of the group had led to three distinct
[124] fractions which we shall call Kotika 1, 2, and 3, tracing respectively back to ancestresses named Kénéya, Amawi, and Oka.

1. This word alludes to the river
where the rebellion of 1772 began.

/23 cont./

613 614 Not one of the members of the group could trace back to the common ancestress; yet these three fractions together behave as a single lineage. [601] [784] All its members know their mutual appellations "brother," "uncle," etc. All are subject to the same kina.

The law of exogamy is respected within each fraction, but 613 614 582 623 there are seven cases of unions between members of different fractions; these unions are disapproved of in principle, but they are tolerated.

Thus, on the subject of exogamy, we see the thought of the Refugee Blacks breaks away from the rigorous principle on which their social order is based. It is the actually known genealogy which counts in their eyes on this point.

613 614 123 [115] [601] In December, 1958 we were able to reconstitute the complete genealogy of the group (Fig. 4)[a] thanks to the memories of the doyenne of the group, Ma Inana, who had lived for a very long time isolated in a village of the Maroni estuary. The data thus reconstituted are in complete agreement with the kinship appellations among members of the various fractions. /24/

/Fig. 4 appears here./

The case of the Kotika lineage is thus particularly interesting, for we find ourselves knowing its genealogy completely when its members know it no more than partially.

613 614 [602] Study of this group shows that the forgetting of kinship ties has no effect on the physical grouping of the lineage and its functioning as a social unit.

It has direct repercussions only on the observation of the principle of exogamy. Thus the way in which exogamy is understood and observed appears to us from now on as a secondary criterion having no certain value for the recognition of a common origin.

[621] Some Djuka and Saramaka have settled among the members of the Kotika lineage, but as individuals.

[621] The Lapé (La Paix) lineage, whose name alludes to one of the great plantations of the Cottica River in the 18th century, is

[a] [See p. 34, Category 86 -- Analyst]

/34 cont./

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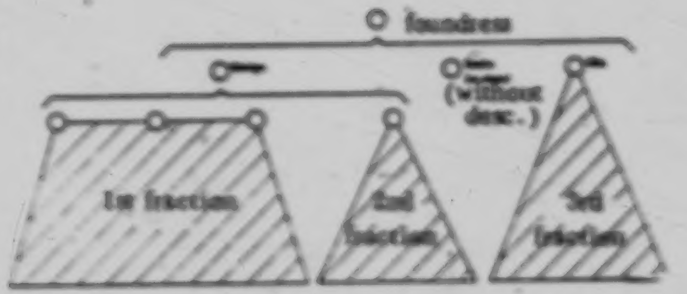

Fig. 4. Common genealogy of the three fractions of the Kotika lineage.

[62] divided between the small villages of Lapé Tabiki and Loka. It is a well-grouped lineage whose members know their genealogy perfectly as far as a common ancestress named Mata, who must have lived at the end of the 18th century: only one small group which we shall call Lapé 2 (descendants of Atili) does not know exactly the ties attaching them to the principal group. The law of exogamy is respected rigorously within this group: there is not a single case of marriage between the two fractions. The members of the two fractions consider themselves a single lineage. [71] They have the same kunu.

[184] Note that there is a Lapé lo among the Djuka, regarded as of the same origin.

[621] No element of heterogeneous origin has settled in the villages of the Lapé lo.

613 The Dju lineage, which occupies the central part of the [346] Asisi Island, also fits the definition of hin groups among the Refugee Blacks. Its members know /25/ their entire genealogy as far back as a common ancestress named Aluku, doubtless, tracing to the middle of the 18th century.

/25 cont./

● 613 Among the Dju there is no fraction separated from the principal group.

[184] There is also a Dju lo among the Djuka. The word Dju alludes to the Jews, the lineage probably having been born in the plantations belonging to the Jews of Surinam.

The law of exogamy is rigorously applied within the Dju lo.

No element of heterogeneous origin is established among the Dju.

613 614 621 The Dipélu lineage was the most important in the past; from the point of view of genealogy it is split up into three groups whose members are scattered in three villages, subject to different authorities.

Genealogy		Villages
Dipélu I - - - - - - - - - - - - -		l'Enfant Perdu Apatu (founded in 1882)
Dipélu II. 1st fraction	very recent scission	Kormotibo
Dipélu II. 2nd fraction		some elements in Asisi.

6/3 —Dipélu I forms a unit remarkable for the amplitude of its genealogy, completely known, which extends over eight generations and goes back to a common ancestress named Sanyan, who must have lived in the middle of the 18th century. The common [194] origin of the two groups being necessarily anterior to this ancestress, it seems logical to make it go back to the beginning of the 18th [601] century. In spite of the remoteness in time of their common origin, the members of both groups know with precision their "horizontal" kinship ties (brother, uncle, etc.), which have lost

613 /26 cont./

[601] nothing of their strength although they have lost all correspondence with the age of the people concerned.

614 571 —Dipélu II, whose members know their genealogy badly, appears on the contrary to be on the way toward breaking up. The head of the Dipélu II, who bears the title of captain, resides [578] at Kormotibo. Part of the group settled in Asisi following a disagreement, without ceasing to be under his authority.

614 602 571 One might think that the physical separation of the two groups took place as a function of the genealogies, that the 2nd fraction of Dipélu II emigrated as a single group to Asisi, leaving in Kormotibo the members of the 1st fraction. But this is not the case at all; examination of the genealogical table shows that the emigrant group issues as much from one as from the other; this is a very remarkable aspect of the social structure of the Refugee Blacks, which proceeds directly from their conceptions of classificatory kinship. A man is "at home" wherever his classificatory "brothers" and "uncles" live, and if a physical separation occurs in the group, preferences and personal affinities will have as much influence as closeness of kinship. /26/

613 614 591 199 Three generations ago, Dipélu was only one group under the leadership of a single head residing in Kormotibo. The process of its breaking up is a beautiful example of what Europeans produce by interfering in the social life of an African tribe in order to pick out a man who appears to them more intelligent and active than the others.

[554] [621] [578] The companion of the explorer Crevaux, Apatu, who belonged to this group, was on his return covered with honors, endowed with the title of captain and with pay; he conflicted with the legitimate head of the lo, seceded, and founded a village on the outskirts of Saint-Laurent, taking with him a fraction of the group.

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[621
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/28 cont./

This village had no future, its complement did nothing but melt away for half a century, especially under the influence of venereal diseases.

Neither time nor geographical separation have brought on scission on the religious or legal planes. In this respect the members of Dipélu I and Dipélu II continue to think of one another as the same lineage. They remain subject to the same kunu. [784]

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614
592
The law of exogamy continues to be applied rigorously within Dipélu I and within Dipélu II, but marriages are permitted between Dipélu I and II. There are no longer any social sanctions about this, and the common origin of the two groups is so remote that they scarcely think any more of applying to them the term pikadu. But such unions remain exceptional, the people concerned continuing to fear a superhuman sanction. [784]

[621] No element of heterogeneous origin, fragment paternally related or refugee outsiders, has settled among the Dipélu.

613
[621]
The Papaïston or Kawina lineage (Papaïston village) has remained perfectly coherent and well grouped. Its members know their genealogy as far back as an ancestress named Térésa, who must have lived at the beginning of the 18th century. But there exists a small fraction, nearly extinct, which we shall designate as Papaïston 2, which presents a separate genealogy going almost as far back in time. Nobody knows the origin of this group exactly; [614] it is regarded as connected by kinship ties to the main group, but the members of the two groups consider that they form two distinct bee. They do not have the same kunu. [784]

[592] Marriage is not tolerated within the principal group, but it is allowed between members of the two groups.

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Moreover, with the Papaïston lives a small group which fled from Surinam about the end of the 19th century, originally of the Bakabuchi tribe. This group has no kinship tie at all with the Papaïston but has placed itself under the authority of the head

/26 cont./

613 621 of the Papalinon lo. It is generally designated by "To'ina's family," Toina being the doyenne of the group.

613 614 [621] The Awara Bakka lineage (Asisi village) has a more complex and particularly interesting structure. Study of its genealogy shows that it is in fact divided into three fractions which we shall call Aw.B. 1, Aw.B. 2, Aw.B. 1 /misprint for Aw.B. 3 -- Tr./. The Aw.B. 1 know /?/ their genealogy perfectly back to an ancestress named Akyé, great-great-grandmother of the centenarian Kuluba (✝ 1957). Akyé must have lived toward the end of the 18th century.

6/3 6/4 571 [621] Awara Bakka 3 is a paternally related fragment which was "assimilated" to the principal group by a process of which several other examples exist among the Boni. It was founded by Anéta, a Djuka woman originally from the village of Tabiki on the Tapanaoni, wife of Fèèyon (Aw.B. 1), who remained there with her numerous descendants after the death of her husband.

The members of this group, who should normally be regarded as Djuka and outsiders to the lo, end up by being engulfed in the social organization and ancestor worship of the Awara Bakka. The [601] daughters of Anéta and Fèèyon were called "sisters" by the Aw.B. 1 by reason of patrilineal relationship. These appellations were [984] transposed for their descendants to the point where many ended by losing their true origin from sight; but the Aw.B. 3 keep a separate religious and legal responsibility and are subject to their own kunu, that of the Djuka village of Tabiki from which came their ancestress.

6/3 6/4 774 As a matter of fact, as we shall show by studying the beliefs of the Boni, the kunu is irremediably transmitted by the mother and no process of assimilation has any effect on this. Thus the Aw.B. 3 are not really part of the lineage; they are separated from it by a clear criterion, obvious in the eyes of all, impossible to disregard or forget.

/27 cont./

614 The Aw.B.2, on whom we could not get sure information
[123] because this very closed group did not cooperate willingly with
the inquiry, appear to be in a very similar situation, with the
difference that their genealogy goes back much farther in time
and they no longer remember the origin of this fraction nor the
[784] circumstances which tied its fate to that of the Aw.B.1. This
group apparently has a separate kuna.

• 613 The Awara Bakka lineage is in a special situation from the
614 point of view of exogamy, for not only are there marriages be-
582 tween one fraction and another, but there are two within the same
[183] fraction and between relatively near relatives. Thus this group,
without openly rejecting the law of exogamy, does not attach the
same importance to it as do the others.

613 The Afi lineage. This lineage was founded by Afi, wife of
[101] a man from Papaïston, who came to live with him. Like the
Toina lineage, she had come from the small tribe called Bakabuchi
which lived in Surinam. However, the Afi and Toina lineages
are not of the same matrilineal origin and the present members of
each of the two small groups have no common worship. All of
[591] them have lost every tie with their original tribe, and their social
life is entirely dependent on that of the Boni group which has taken
them in.

[621] Afi settled near Kormotibo. This site is abandoned by her
descendants who live, most of them, in Asisi, the rest in Kormotibo.

The lineage has lost every tie with its group of origin.
[619] Nevertheless, it is assumed that if one of them wanted to go back
there, on proving his relationship, he would take up all his rights
again and could demand a site for making his clearings.

613 /28/ The process of assimilation which took place for the
621 AW.B.3 did not come into play for Afi's descendants with respect
571 to the Papaïston lineage. They are regarded as a separate family
group, insufficient in number to constitute a social unit and whose
members are placed under the authority of the heads of the villages

/28 cont./

● 613 621 571 where they have chosen to live. It is possible that later, if their number continues to increase, they may found a separate village whose head will be recognized as captain. A new lo would thus be created.

613 614 571 Real nature of Boni matrilineal groups. Examination of the situation of the various lineages leads to the following conclusions:

— The fact that genealogies are forgotten does not lead to any fractioning of lineages on the material or religious planes.

— The conceptions of the Boni relative to classificatory kinship, as well as their custom hostile toward any discrimination within the lineage, hinder fractioning. When a separation takes place on the plane of residence and authority, it has no repercussion on the common worship which cements the lineage together;

— The fashion in which the law of exogamy is applied does not constitute a valid criterion, the attitude of the various groups in this regard being quite variable;

— No process of assimilation permits integration into the lineage of elements of foreign origin; a process of assimilation of paternally related fragments exists. But this assimilation is not complete, it does not operate on the plane of legal and religious responsibility;

613 614 784 — Ultimately, the surest criterion of true common matrilineal origin is unity of legal and religious responsibility, marked by the same kunu. The kunu, transmitted irrevocably by the mother whatever may be the conditions of her marriage, weighing collectively on all the members of a lineage and capable of being warded off only by their collective prayers, is the true cement of kin groups.

[571] By its very nature, the kunu opposes any scission of groups. Neither time nor geographical separation can break it.

[621] The example of Dipèla I and II is characteristic in this regard, for its members remain rigorously subject to the same kunu

/28 cont./

613 614 [illegible] [621] although the supposed common ancestress [illegible] goes back to the beginning of the 18th century and for three generations they have been divided among four villages situated at a week's distance by boat from one another. We can, with very few chances of error, affirm that they certainly have a common matrilineal origin and that they in fact constitute one lineage.

182 619 [illegible] [illegible] On this subject let us note that geographical separation cannot play the same role among the Refugee Blacks as in the African tribes of cultivators. The Refugee Blacks, whose habitat is linear along the banks of the river and who, being boatmen, are continually moving, cannot be completely isolated from one another.

613 614 591 /29/ Under these conditions, how can we explain the existence within certain lineages of individualized fractions subject to a separate kunu, such as Papalitom 2?

One can assume that these fractions do not really have the same origin as the principal group and that they result from a process of assimilation of a paternally related fragment.

We have cited the example of Aneta's descendants (Aw. B. 3). They are already integrated into the social life of the group; in two or three generations nobody will remember any longer their exact origin. But they will remain differentiated from the principal fraction of the Awara Bakka because they will still be subject to the kunu of their ancestress. [784]

121 Such are the elements we have been able to draw from a general study of kin groups among the Boni. We shall look for other data in the study of the implantation of these groups on the soil, and especially of the apportionment of lands among them; finally, we shall study family custom and especially inheritance.

A complete understanding of the kinship system and its functioning can be obtained only in the future by following the evolution of kin groups, the formation of new villages, and the designation of new headmen.

/29 cont./

121 This is what necessitates as precise an inventory as possible of the population in its present state.

61 Matrilineal kin groups among the Djuka and Saramaka Refugee Blacks.
114 Authors who have described the social structure of the Djuka and
184 Saramaka, groupings appreciably more numerous than the Boni, have also called attention to the use of the words lo and bɛɛ, but give them a completely different meaning.

194 The organization they describe can be summarized thus:
571 Before making up tribes, the rebels lived in small groups
621 near the plantations from which they had escaped; these groups of composite origin were designated by the word lo which means: troop, band; the same word is used to designate a band of animals.

[162] These rebels used to belong to all the nations of the west
[103] coast of Africa. In spots there may have been an attempt at regroupings of elements belonging to the same nation, as proven by the village names Loango, Dahomey, among the Saramaka.
(622) But the majority of these small groups were very probably of heterogeneous origin; in each of these lo, the bravest and most capable was designated as head.

[648] After the recognition of the Djuka and Saramaka by the
[167] government of Surinam and their regrouping on the great rivers of the interior, these groups kept their unity since they had a de facto organization and leaders. They were naturally designated by the name of the plantation they had come from. We say for example Dju nɛnge for the former slaves of the Jews, Kɔpani nɛnge for the former slaves of the Compagnie des Indes Orientales /East India Company/. /30/

174 In the course of the 19th century the total number of Refugee
613 Blacks increased very rapidly under the influence of a high birth
614 rate. The lineages in the proper meaning of the term bɛɛ, mean-
621 ing the descendants of the same ancestress, took on sufficient im-
571 portance to constitute distinct social units. They grouped in
(1161)

/30 cont./

174 separate villages and the more important even burst out into
613 several villages whose heads were recognized as "captains" by the
grand man and then by the government. The number of Djuka
614 captains recognized by the government of Surinam has not stopped
621 growing; it was 28 these last few years.

The *lo* no longer represented an effective social unit, but
571 its members kept common worships. For example, it is said that
[188] the *Dju nẽnge* go each year as a ritual to get earth from the
Savane des Juifs /Savanna of the Jews/ where their ancestors were
slaves.

[114] This explanation seems probable. The kin-group is not the only social unit known to Africans; the bond between man and land has equal importance in their eyes; the fact that their fathers had lived together, that they had been buried in the same cemetery created a among the rebel slaves a *de facto* bond which was able to suffice, at the beginning of the rebellion, to found villages and a social organization.

[114] However, this theory cannot be entertained without reservations. It has not been possible to verify it by systematic studies, the Djuka and Saramaka having firmly opposed until now any ethnographic investigation involving the statement of genealogies and the inventory of the population of the villages.

[184] It contradicts what we have pointed out among the Boni. In that group six great lineages are counted, of which four (Dju, Kotika, La Paix, Dikan) have a name also alluding to the plantations from which their ancestors fled.

Nevertheless it is certainly a question of lineages in the proper meaning of the term, and nobody remembers that any other organization ever existed. Also, in the absence of systematic studies of the Djuka and Saramaka, the problem of the origin of
[184] their kin groups remains obscure. The future will permit verifying one or the other of the two hypotheses:

179 /30 cont./

613 1st. Lo a de facto grouping of rebels of any provenance,
614 which has in the long run split up into lineages but which remains
621 in the form of a common worship;

571 2nd. Lo a lineage, from the very beginning.

184

Conceptions Relative to Kinship and Marriage

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[621] Ties between the individual and the ancestors. Before examining more deeply the social and family structure of the Refugee Blacks, it is indispensable to study what religious ties are implied between [184] the individual and the ancestors. Here one is in the presence of basic beliefs which seem identical in the various tribes of Refugee Blacks of Guiana and of which their structure is the consequence.

[771] In the civilizations of Blacks Africa it is supposed that a current of life and /31/ strength circulates from the divinity to men through the medium of the ancestors. Among the Refugee Blacks it is taken for granted that in this respect each man is bound [782] to his ancestors through the maternal line only. If he falls prey to illness, injustice, or adversity, he can call only on them in his prayer.

593 That does not mean that the tie with the father is ignored [827] or considered as having little importance; it is taken for granted, as we shall see, that in the creation of man certain psychic elements are transmitted from father to son. But the current of strength binding the individual to the ancestors does not pass through the father. One cannot pray usefully to the soul of one's dead father. [755] If I am sick and divination incriminates the action of my dead [782] father's soul, I cannot address either prayer or offering directly to him; for that I shall have recourse to one of his near relatives in the maternal line.

614 /31 cont./

769 Another very important principle in the minds of the Refugee
796 Blacks is that prayers must be collective: the principal ceremonies,
such as the New Year's prayer, must bring together, at least in
●613 principle, the total lineage.

These notions certainly have influenced the custom of the
182 Refugee Blacks with respect to residence and marriage. The lineage
613 cannot allow the permanent departure of a woman from her native
614 country any more than that of a man. In the populations of Black
Africa with matrilineal filiation, this conception is reconciled
591 with the necessities of practical living in the following manner:
[171] the wife leaves her relatives to settle down with her husband, but
when her children reach adulthood they must return there. Thus
one cannot attribute to this preoccupation alone the special system
of marriage among the Refugee Blacks, which does not involve
the permanent cohabitation of man and wife. We shall see that
this system was inspired by social and psychological necessities.
But concern for the unity of the lineage, to which it corresponds
perfectly, has surely contributed to make of it a rigorous principle
of customary law.

601 Kinship within the matrilineage. The kinship terms translate a
613 purely classificatory system. It depends only on the number of
generations separating from the foundress. The sons of women
611 descended from the foundress in uterine line are regarded as members of the matrilineage and united in the system of appellation.
The children of these men are no longer part of the matrilineage.

601 /31 cont./
613

Baala. (brother) Sisa. (sister)	brothers and sisters in the classificatory sense. Persons separated from the foundress by the same number of generations.
Tiyo, tiya. (uncle, aunt)	persons nearer to the foundress by one generation.
Gaàta, gaàma (grandfather, grandmother)	persons nearer to the foundress by two generations.
Avo (great-grandmother)	women nearer to the foundress by three generations.
Sisa pikin (nephews)	persons farther from the foundress by one generation.

/32./ In a general fashion, a man situated on line n calls uncles and aunts all those situated on line n-1, and nephews all who are on line n+1.

601 602 613 Example (see genealogical table of the Dju lo): Fittiman (F7) considers Aliki (F23) (his relative in the 9th degree) as his aunt, for the same reason as Wima (E2), sister of his mother. Likewise, he considers Sosoman (E14), as well as Atikali (E18), as his uncle, although Sosoman is 10 years younger than he. He assumes that Sosoman can to a certain extent give him advice and that his opinion is preponderant over his own.

He considers Adiiso (F37), his relative in the 10th degree, as his brother for the same reason as Klemanti, his brother proper. Paana (G2), Kewenu (G10) as well as Soulafu (G42) are his nephews and nieces, sisa pikin.

At one generation more, he says "my grandchildren."

[32 cont.]

601 The very rigor of this principle seems to have to lead to a
613 scission of the lineages, for one can hardly conceive that people
571 will be willing to address girls younger than themselves as "my
[163] grandmother" and show them respect; now that must necessarily
be the case at the end of a certain number of generations, for
as we shall see, the fecundity of Boni women sometimes lasts up
to the age of 50, and there are cases where the interval between
the oldest and youngest child reaches 30 years.

Nevertheless, we have not actually observed that this conception of kinship leads to scissions or even to serious clashes.

That derives from the very nature of the hierarchy and the social ties within the matrilineage: they entail a collective tutelage by one generation over the next, and in the same way a collective tutelage by the ancestors over the living. But for the same reason that every prayer, every invocation addressed individually to such-and-such an ancestor is avoided, the hierarchy of the Refugee Blacks does not give rise to relationships of authority between one man and another, which would not be tolerated. Only the bedemi, or captain, designated by the assembly of the lineage, exerts a personal authority; even so, he is careful to limit it almost exclusively to religious functions.

604 "Uncles" exert collectively an authority over the generation
613 of "nephews." They meet in council, especially on the question
of marriages. They do not vote, strictly speaking, but the opposition of three or four of them prevents the carrying out of a project. There is no preponderant voice for the closest uncles (yet in practice this seems to be taken into account). But the eldest of the uncles in the classificatory sense is unanimously recognized as preponderant.

682 Existence of patrilineages. Matrilineages are not the only kin
784 groups of the Refugee Blacks. Each one receives from his father
428 a fundamental interdiction -- bwasi kina -- which he will have

/33 cont./

602 Patrilineal relationships have other important incidences which we shall bring to light in speaking of Boni beliefs. From the point of view of social structure, let us note:

[182] — That patrilineal relationship has no influence upon residence or organization of material living;

[582] — That the law of exogamy which it involves has only slight influence on the freedom of choice of couples; because of the relatively large number of patrilineages.

[601] As far as the ties of patrilineal kinship are known (in general people do not go beyond their grandfather), the same kinship terms are used as in the matrilineage, with the same classificatory value.

601
613 Appellations. We have seen that within the matrilineage the kinship appellations depend only on the number of generations with respect to the foundress.

Speaking familiarly, they use for addressing:

— People of the same generation, the expression	ba So-and-so... (man) sa So-and-so (woman)
— — of one generation above, the expression	tiyu, uncle tiya, aunt
— — of two generations above, the expression	papa mama.

[192] /34/ Papa does not mean father, but ancient, honorable. Likewise, mama means aged and respectable woman.

For example, to say good day they will say, according to the case, ba So-and-so, ɔdio, or tiyu, ɔdio.

[551] In speaking to people one generation below, they say mati (comrade) or call them by their name without any other appellation, which would be considered very insolent in addressing their "brothers" or "uncles."

/34 cont./

601 They continue to use the terms soagi, pay, may even after the break-up of a marriage, so that they are in frequent usage. As for the woman herself, they say sa So-and-so in speaking to her, as to a sister.

581 Marriage. The conceptions of the Refugee Blacks on this subject are remarkable. Marriage in the African sense of the term, understood as a contract between two groups of relatives, does not exist
581 among them. The union of the man and woman does not involve
583 any sort of contract between their groups of relatives and consequently entails no matrimonial compensation. /35/ The Refugee Blacks are the only African Negro population to our knowledge whose customs do not involve any form of "dowry" either in money or in kind.

582
621 Family life in the sense that we understand it does not exist; as we shall see further on, marriage is forbidden between people of the same lineage, which implies that the husband and wife live
591 in different villages. The man builds a house for his wife in her
593 native village, but he does not come to live with her; he makes
[439] visits of several days to her as to his other wives, in the course of which he furnishes her with the imported objects (salt, kerosene, cloth, etc.) she needs, lends her his aid for heavy chores, while, for her part, she turns over to him the products of the clearing. The rest of the time he lives as a bachelor in his mother's village where he builds his own house. If he is very attached to his wife, he can come to reside with her and can even succeed without great difficulty in bringing her to live in his own village; but few couples take advantage of this option, for the man and wife prize their independence above everything else.

593 The life of the man and of the wife remain entirely separate
[613] and their union has more the character of a temporary association founded on material interests than that of a marriage; the family life of each one remains entirely centered around his or her matrilineage.

/37 cont./

583 (this was especially the case with the Afi and Toïna lineages
591 cited above), that does not entail any compensation. It is contrary to custom and disapproved of, but if the wife absolutely insists on leaving her kin she is free to do it. Nothing can be claimed from her husband's lineage.

The usual interpretation of matrimonial compensation, regarded as a mechanism for exchange of women among groups, thus does not seem valid here. If a woman leaves a Boni lineage for good to go and found a family, for example among the Djuka, her descendants are lost to the lineage without any possibility of compensation. Yet this society so deeply rooted in African soil does not make provision for any allowance or payment in such a case.

613 Things are clearer if the lineage is considered not as an
791 effective material grouping but as a spiritual community subject to the same religious law. In the thought of the Refugee Blacks,
[829] the fundamental religious tie which joins the individual to his ancestors in uterine line cannot be broken whatever anyone does.

[591] Wherever she may go, the emigrant woman remains a member of the spiritual community; she remains, she and her children,
[784] subject to the same *kunu*. Nor can this religious tie be transferred from the maternal kin group.

581 Understood thus, marriage breaks no spiritual tie, creates
583 none; it thus affords no reason for any compensation.

These considerations show that the African "dowry" as con-
000 ceived by patrilineal societies is not only a mechanism for the exchange of women among materially constituted groups. It can also have as its end, without those concerned even being aware of it, to compensate the spiritual community of the lineage for the loss of the children the woman will bear, their passage to another cult.

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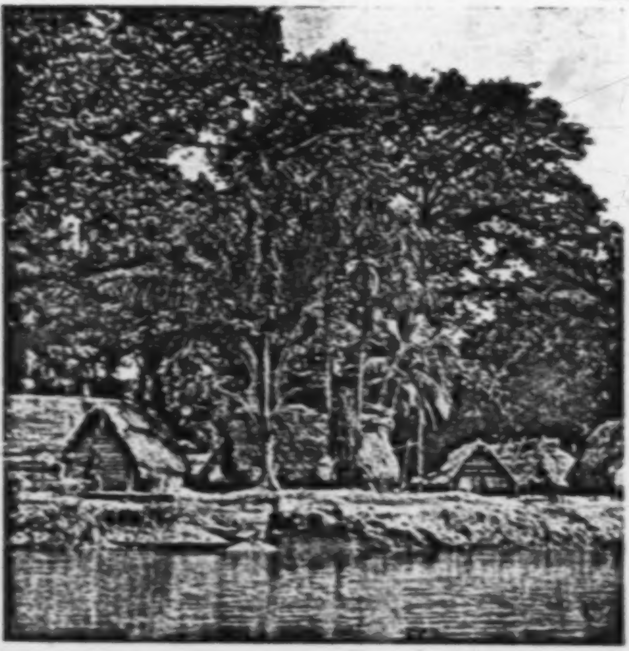

Fig. 5. Boni Village

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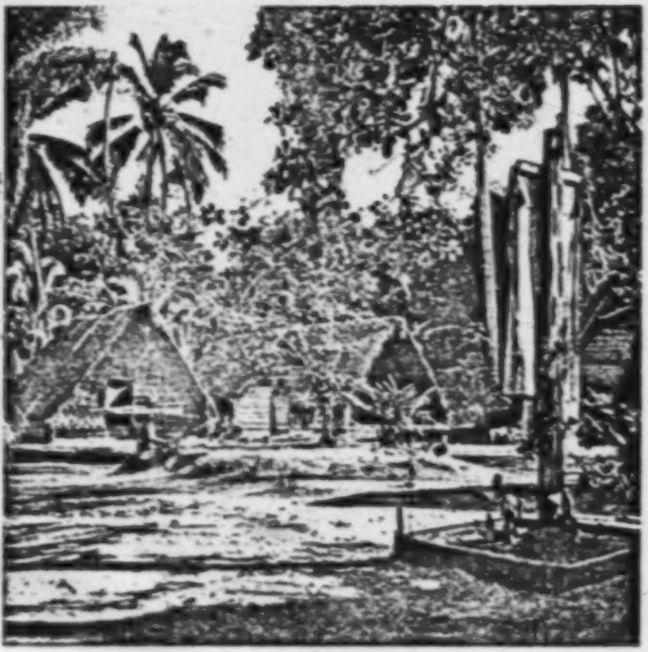

Fig. 6. (The fraga
tiki of the Kotika
lo.

/41 cont./

621 The principle behind the constitution of the Boni villages
● 613 is, as we have said, the localization of the matrilineage. Men
[591] and women live in the village of their maternal kin; the wife does not leave her village to join her husband, who comes to visit her from time to time without ceasing, himself, to live in the midst of his own lineage.

The composition of each village thus corresponds, at least in principle, to the group of living people on the genealogical table. But a certain number of exceptions are observed:

[167] -A certain number of men (about 20 out of 800 persons) have emigrated for good and can no longer be counted in the population of the villages;

[619] -On the other hand, a dozen Djuka and Saramaka married
[591] to Boni women have settled permanently in the villages and have been included in the census.

125 We have tried to estimate with as much precision as possible
128 the age of the people concerned, by means of events of known
[173] date which they remember, from the trip of the explorer Crevaux (1878) to the war 1939-45. We have established a local chronology, reproduced as an appendix at the end of the present chapter.

125 The demographic survey, which has been the subject of another publication (1), was conducted parallel with the sociological investigation.

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[113] 1. "Etude démographique comparée des Noirs Réfugiés Boni et des Indiens Oayana du Haut-Maroni /Comparative Demographic Study of the Boni Refugee Blacks and the Oayana Indians of the Upper Maroni/," in Population, éditions de l'INED, 1959, No. 3. [2]

[2] [See 5: Hurault, This file-- Analyst.]

/42/

125 128 162 The name of each individual is printed in boldface type once where he can be considered as habitually residing.

Children under 15 are considered as living with the persons responsible for their education. If it was not possible to obtain accurate information about this, they are considered as living with their mother.

Each listing bears a number, for example Dju D7, making it possible to find again the individual's place in the genealogical table. In the example noted, refer to the table of the Dju lineage, line D, no. 7.

601 128 (115) Genealogical tables. These are of unequal value according to the age and the memory of the old people consulted. In general they go back to three generations beyond the oldest of the old men now alive.

[165] "Since the Boni show remarkable longevity, and the average difference in age between two generations can be estimated at 31 years, one can assume as probable that the most distant ancestress known of each lineage was born between the middle and the end of the 18th century. For example, if we assume that ● [613] Kuluba, the ancestress of the Awara Bakka, was about 100 years old in 1956, we can take for granted that she was born about 1856 and that her great-grandmother was born about 1760.

613 The most ancient ancestress known of each lineage is certainly not the foundress. It is infinitely probable that the founding of these groups goes back to the beginning of the 18th century and that they were born on the same plantations where the ancestors of the Refugee Blacks were slaves; this would explain the names borne by the lineages, names which nearly always allude to a plantation or to a slave-owner.

601 128 In a general way, the memory of the Boni is very sure, and the information given in the form: Ma X... begot So-and-so,

/42 cont./
601 So-and-so, and So-and-so, can be regarded as sure. On the other
128 hand, we have considered that there was a break in the genealogy
when, going back in time, we arrived at this single datum:
Ma X... was the sister of Ma Y..., for it could be a question
of kinship in the classificatory sense.

No form of birthright existing among the Boni, there is some uncertainty about the order of birth of brothers and sisters for persons long dead. We have adopted the order kept by oral tradition without trying to rectify it.

•613 In many African populations a special tradition is connected
814 with perpetuating the memory of the founder, at least his name,
829 the place of his grave. With the present-day Boni absolutely
nothing like this is found; they are not concerned in any way with
the true foundress of their lineage; no memory, no legend, not
even a name has come down to them. It even seems as though
these distant ancestors interest them little because they are less
able to act in behalf of their present-day descendants. Indeed,
with each new generation the memory of an ancient one dies out.
173 On our first trip in 1948 we called attention, unfortunately without
[126] noting them down precisely, to /43/ very interesting oral traditions
going back to the time of slavery, especially the names of the
slave-owners who showed themselves to be the most cruel. In
[814] 1962 the last old man who knew them had died; the very memory
of what he had said was already effaced.

829 As a matter of fact, Boni thought, strictly practical and
602 utilitarian, is concerned principally with keeping the memory of
the part of the genealogy indispensable to the living to know their
kinship ties. Memory of women whose posterity has died out and
of men who did nothing remarkable is dead from the second
generation on.

114 Since none of the travelers of the 19th century understood
613 the importance of taking genealogies, it is probable that the names

/43 cont./

114
613 of the true foundresses and the circumstances of the formation of the lineages (invaluable information which must still have been present in the memory of the old men at the end of the last century) are lost forever.

128
601 In order to simplify the drawing up of the genealogical tables, we have eliminated individuals deceased before adult age.

128
551
601
162
[101] Names. To insure the necessary anonymity to our informants without diminishing the accuracy of the statement, we have changed a large part of the names. The fictitious names under which individuals are designated in the genealogical tables as well as in the inventory of the population were mostly taken from the Djuka, who belong to the same cultural and linguistic group; in other cases, in order "to figure" the census we used a more complex process consisting in exchanging the names of two persons. Children younger than 15 are designated simply by an initial (1).

[648]
[123] 1. It is particularly disagreeable to the Refugee Blacks to have their children's names known by Europeans, with the exception of the doctor. All systematic questioning on this subject runs into clear hostility.

114
609 Despite these precautions, we recommend that travelers provided with this work make no allusion in front of the Boni to the facts related in it; the Refugee Blacks are very proud and cannot allow an outsider to penetrate forthwith into their family privacy. That would provoke lively hostility toward the indiscreet person and would hinder later work.

114
128 The table of correspondence between true and fictitious names is held at the disposal of sociologists who may wish to conduct studies on the Boni.

162
•613
621
[643]

BONIVILLE

Legend

N°	House of		N°	House of	
1	△ Difu grand/man	Dikan	31	○ Pèlui	P1, F34
2	△ Dodoya	Dip. I, F82	32	△ Gonisutu (2nd house)	
3	○ Kulina	Dju, F9	33		
4	△ Fintiman	Dju, F6	34	△ Baafu	L2, E58
5	△ Klémenti	Dju, F7	35	○ Lomé	L2, F74
6	○ Eliana	Dju, F8	36	○ Téréza	L2, E57
7	○ Kulina	Dju, F9	37	△ Amakti	L2, F71
8	△ Doni	Dju, G13	38	△ Monpé	1. Poti
9	△ Lota	K3, E142	39	○ Aboométi	
9(a)	△ Booki	K3, E133	40	△ Klémenti	Dju, F7
10	○ Mimi	K3, E156	41	○ Amékiwan	1. Poti
11	○ Lémiki	K3, D130	42	○ Lèya	K2, F99
12	△ Tofioto	K3, E157	43	○ Paata	1. Poti
13	△ Lébiman	K3, D132	44	○ Chima	1. Poti
14	○ Achiké	K3, E140	45	○ Lésina	K2, F69
15	○ Sqoto	K3, E142	46	△ Todo	K2, F68
16	○ Maka	K3, E146	47	○ Awini	K1, E37
17	○ Marta	K3, F140	48	△ Todo	K2, F68
18 }	○ Waway	K3, E130	49	△ Noël	Dip. I, F83
19 }			50	△ Kallawa	1. Poti
20	○ Afiingi	K3, D120	51	○ Bada	Dip. I, F1
21	○ Akyènki	K3, E144	52	△ Madéko	K2, E69
22	△ Makalanchi	K3, F130	53	○ Amanichi	Dip. I, F7
23	△ Sintamann	K3, E145	54	○ Cécilia	Dip. I, E9
24	△ Asékéyé	P1, G25	55	△ Dyakata	Dip. I, E4
25	△ Bukuman	P1, F32	56	△ Alichi	Dip. I, F5
26	○ Apinda	P1, G96	57	○ Asumè	Dip. I, F2
27	△ Gonisutu	P1, G64	58		
28	○ Alasani	P1, F34	59	○ Lèya	K2, F99
29	△ Bènanu	P1, G61	60	△ Todo	K2, F68
30	△ Nanga	P1, G31			

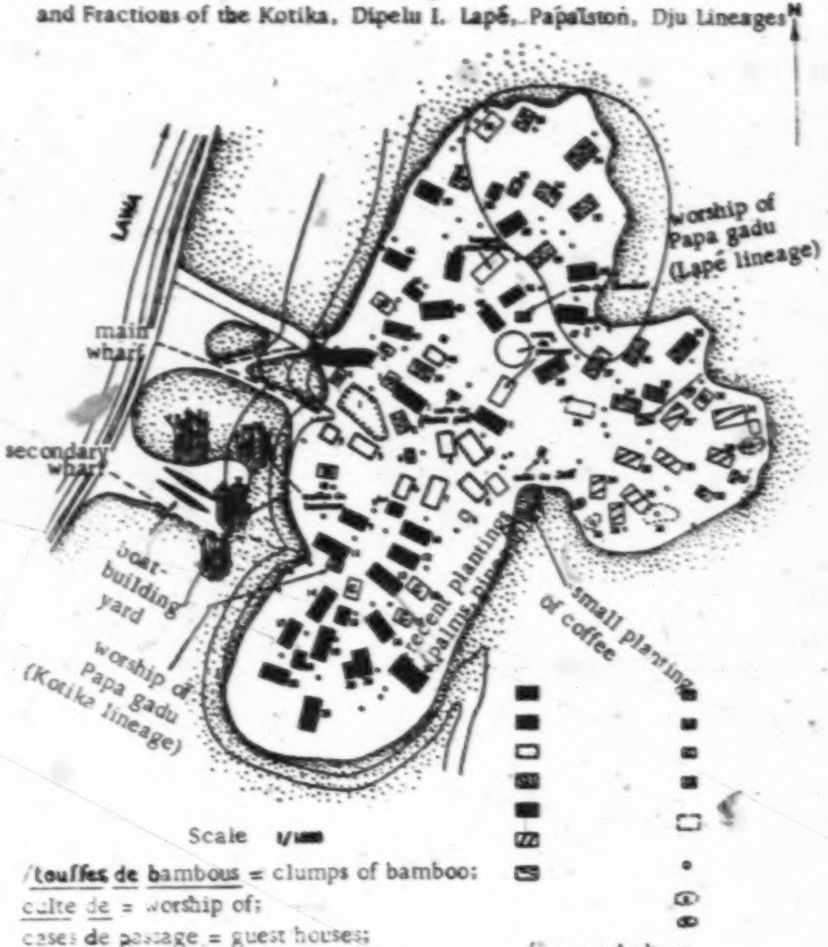
Total on January 1, 1958: 116 persons, including 43 children and adolescents of less than 16 years.

Adult inhabitants whose residence in Boniville is not normal: none.

The members of the small Poti lineage, founded about 50 years ago by a Djuka woman, wife of grand man Ochi†, have normal residence here through their foundress. No Djuka, Saramaka, or Paramaka lives in Boniville.

102
361
●613
621

Agodé Village
(Boniville)
in Oct. 1957
Dikan Lineage
and Fractions of the Kotika, Dipelu I, Lapé, Papalston, Dju Lineages


N
LAWA
main wharf
secondary wharf
boat-building yard
worship of Papa gadu (Kotika lineage)
recent planting
small planting of coffee
worship of Papa gadu (Lapé lineage)
Scale 1/1000

/touffes de bambous = clumps of bamboo;
culte de = worship of;
cases de passage = guest houses;
hangar mortuaire = mortuary shed/

/see symbols on p. 63a/

Fig. 7.

/45 cont./

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361
● 613
621

/The symbols below refer to Fig. 7 on p. 66./

lineages

■	Dikan
■	Kotuka
□	Dju
▩	Dipèlu
▨	Lipé
▧	Papaïston
▭	Poti (Djuka origin)

⊠	chapels (gadu ɔʃu)
■	Munu ɔʃu (1)
▣	kitchens
▣	various outbuildings (granaries, etc.)
⬚	building in ruins
○	single trees
◌	clump of banana trees
◉	clump of pinot palms /ouassi/

(1) Houses to which women retire during their menstrual periods.

/46/

l'Enfant Perdu (Tabiki) Village

162
•613
621

Legend

No.		House of		No.		House of	
3	○	Djalufu	Dip. I, E8	25	△	Fambién	Dip. I. E62
6	△	Kasun (usually lives in Kotika	Dip. I, E3	26	○	Asuwèntina	K2, E73
				28 29	△	Daméni	Dip. I, E47
8	△	Biani	Dip. I, F76	30	○	Anusa	Dip. I. E48
9	○	Saumé	Dip. I, E53	31 32	○	Towéchi	Dip. I, F64
10	△	Tabayé	Dip. I, F73				
11	○	Saumé (2nd house)		33	△	Malpa	Dip. I. F52
13	○	Abéna	Dip. I. D38	34	△	Babun (2nd house)	
14	△	Polou	Dip. I, F77	36	○	Asèli	Dip. I, F60
15	△	Toli	Dip. I, D44	37	○	Elina	Dip. I. E44
16	○	Mata	Dip. I, F80	38	○	Ansu	Dip. I. G50
17	△	Abagon	Dip. I, E35	39	○	Musinga	Dip. I. F51
19	△	Bayamali	Dip. I. E55	41	○	Apeusa	Dip. I, F54
20	△	Simon	Dip. I, F78	42	○	Kodja	Dip. I. F55
21	△	Manku	Dip. I, F75	43	○	Saayé	Dip. I. F56
[622] ← 22	△	Babun village head	Dip. I, D40	45	○	Péèchina	Dip. I. E42

Total on January 1, 1958: 65 persons, of whom 25 are children and adolescents under 16 years.

[591] Adult inhabitants of the village whose residence is not normal:

○ Asuwèntina 1926, raised by her father Fambién, remained in l'Enfant Perdu;

△ Yoni 1930, DJUKA, raised by his brother by the same father Tabayé in l'Enfant Perdu village, remained there afterward.

Total: 2 persons, of whom one is bringing up a child.

Loka and Lapé Tabiki Villages

[591] Adult inhabitants whose residence is normal: /Error for "not normal"? - Tr.

△ Aïoondo 1935, raised by his father Koniman in Loka, stayed there
○ Baïkom 1924, raised by her father Malobi in Loka, stayed there
○ Méchi 1922, raised by her father Kodio in Loka, stayed there
○ Noko 1937, raised by Namu, sister of her father, stayed in Loka
○ Régina 1936, raised by her father Popo in Loka, stayed there

Total: 5 persons, raising 7 children or adolescents under 16 years old.

102
361
●613
621

l'Enfant Perdu Village
(Dipelu I lo)
in 1957

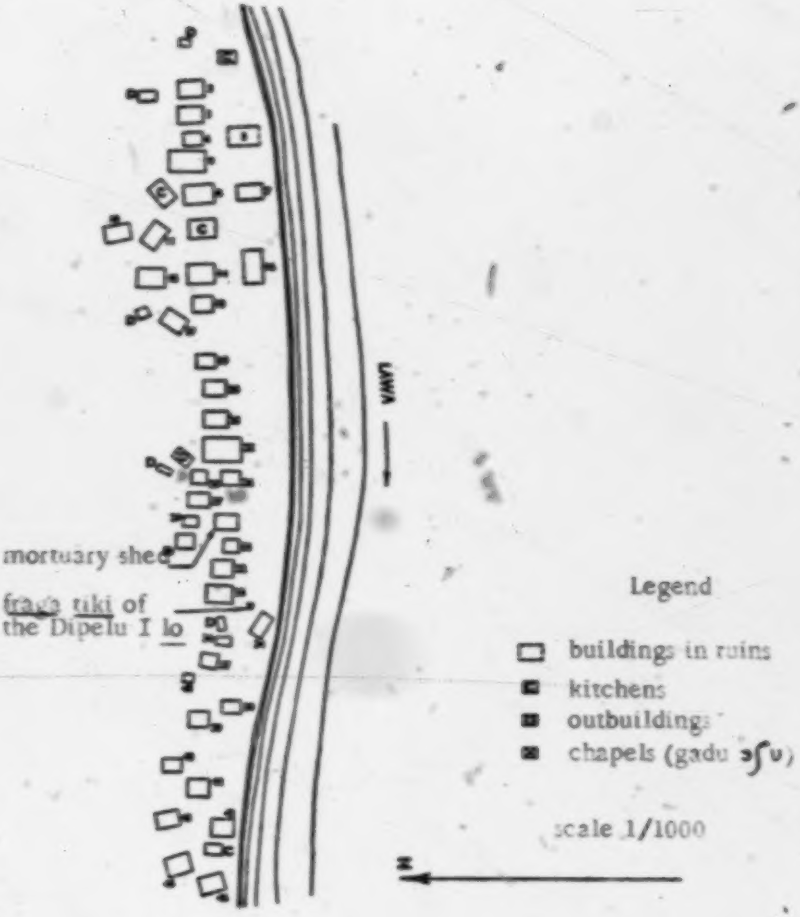
LAWA
mortuary shed
fraga tiki of the Dipelu I lo
Legend
▭ buildings in ruins
■ kitchens
▣ outbuildings
▩ chapels (gadu ɔʃu)
scale 1/1000
N

Fig. 8.

/48/

Loka and Lapé Tabiki Villages

Legend

162
● 613
621

Loka Village

Nº		House of	
1 4	○	Bito	L1, D2
3	△	Télon	L1, E3
2 5	○	Tolti	L1, E1
6	△	Pikinbaala	L1, E2
7	○	Totouman	L1, F1
8	△	Dooté	L1, E10
9	○	Balkom	Dju, F10
11	△	Abété	
12	△	Malobi	Dip. I, E50
13	○	Alapu	L1, D9
14	○	Apiéku	L1, E7
15	○	Yaana	L1, E39
16	○	Madu	L1, E41
17	△	Topo	L1, E40
18	○	Chii	L1, D24
19	○	Koko	L1, E42
20	△	Ayaubédé	L1, E37
21	○	Mayon	L1, F27
22	○	Saléni	L1, E25
23	○	Kayé	L1, F26
24	△	Tingo	L1, F25
25	○	Awenkina	L1, D23
26	○	Paako	L1, E29
27	○	Do	L1, F35
28	○	Akomédi	L1, F34
29	○	Méchi	Aw. B.1, E27
30	○	Balansi	L1, F37
31	○	Mémé	L1, E34
32	○	Akuba	L1, E30
33	△	Akwadé	L1, E22
34	○	Ondi	
35	△	Pwen	L1, E33
36	△	Keniman	L1, E31
37	○	Akuba	L1, E30
38	○	Afuyéti	L1, F38
39	△	Afoondo	Aw. B.1, F56
40	○	Mélita	L1, E32
41	○	Abiaman	L1, F39
42	○	Téké	L1, F44
43 44	△	Tamu	L1, F32
45 46	△	Fosé	L1, F33
47	△	Somié	L1, E24
48	△	Popo, head of the village	L1, E23

[622]
→

Lapé Tabiki Village

Nº		House of	
1	○	Asamani	L1, D15
1a		Manntau	L1, E20
2		Tabiki†	
3	△	Butu	DJUKA
4	△	Sofé	L1, D13
5	○	Twa †	L1, E14
6	○	Asolda †	L1, C11
7	○	Kama	L1, E15
8	○	Adoimba	L1, E17
9	△	Maaten	L1, E18
10	△	Tyaka	L1, D16
11	○	Yundu † 1957	L2, G60
12	○	Asakundu	L2, E55
	○	Angisa	L2, F61
13	△	Anato	L2, G61

Total on January [illegible], 1958: 123 persons of whom 64 are children and adolescents under 16 years.

/49/

102
361
● 613
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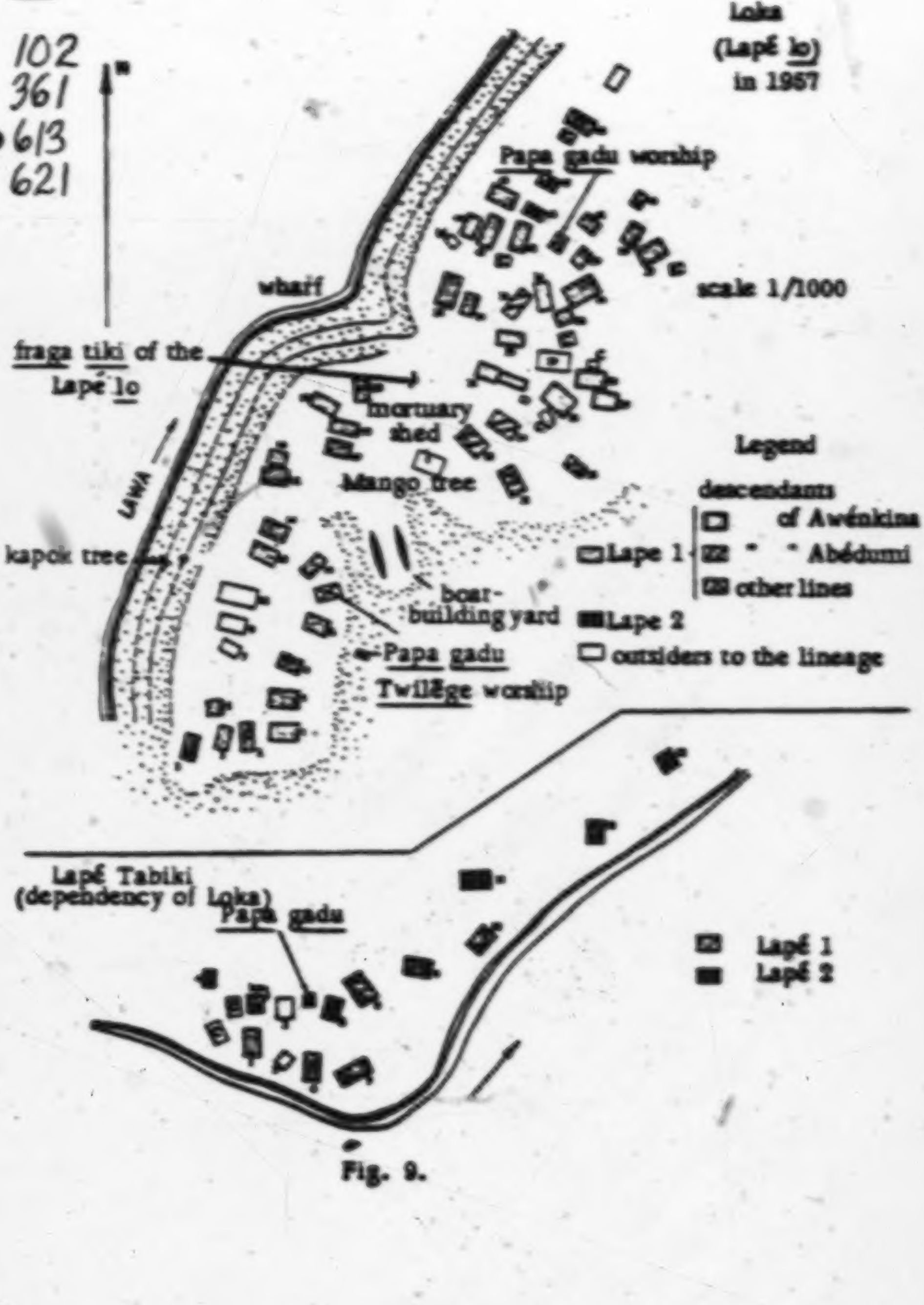
Loka
(Lapé lo)
in 1957
N
Papa gadu worship
scale 1/1000
wharf
fraga tiki of the Lapé lo
mortuary shed
Mango tree
LAWA
kapok tree
boat-building yard
Papa gadu
Twilẽge worship
Legend
descendants
of Awénkina
Lape 1
" " Abédumi
other lines
Lape 2
outsiders to the lineage
Lapé Tabiki
(dependency of Loka)
Papa gadu
Lapé 1
Lapé 2

Fig. 9.

/50/

Asisi Village--Dju Quarter

Legend

162
621
● 613

n°	House of	
1	△ **Fraga**	Dju, F18
2	△ **Loko**	Dju, F39
3	△ **Sosoman**	Dju, E14
4	△ **Fraga** (2nd house)	
5	△ **Tyolo**	Dip. II, F48
6 7	△ **Wénu**	Dju, F38
8	△ **Koniami**	Aw. B.1, G1
9	○ **Yééchi**	Dju, F3
10	○ **Wima † 1957**	
13	△ **Féni**	Dju, G3
14	△ **Adiso**, village head	Dju, F37
15	○ **Pamasa**	Dju, E26
16	○ **Buba**	Dju, G1
17	○ **Aguba**	Dju, G14
18	○ **Sara**	Dju, E27
20	○ **Ata**	Dju, F2
21	○ **Adyidya**	Dju, E19
22	○ **Léuga**	Dju, F36
23	○ **Sara** (2nd house)	
24	○ **Tini**	Dju, F1
25	○ **Paana**	Dju, G2
26	○ **Téodora**	Dju, G40
27	○ **Piké**	Dju, F28
29	○ **Dabisa**	Dju, G45
30	△ **Yaka**	SAR.
31	△ **Soalufu**	Dju, G42
32	○ **Aliki**	Dju, E23
33	○ **Maria**	Dju, F11
34	△ **Achiké**	Dju, F13
35	○ **Félicia**	Dju, G41
36	△ **Bernardin**	K1, D60
37	△ **Achiké** (2nd house)	
38	○ **Dachini**	Dju, F16
39	○ **Adyidya** (2nd house)	
40	○ **Kukusa**	Dju, F40
41	△ **Faawé**	Dju, F19
42	○ **Ursüla**	Dju, D8
43	○ **Wima †** (2nd house)	
44 45	○ **Diana**	Dju, E9
46	○ **Baawé**	Dju, E13

Total on January 1, 1958: 67 persons of whom 24 are children and adolescents under 18 years.

[591] Adult inhabitants whose residence is not normal:

△ Koniami 1935, raised by his father among the Dju, stayed there afterward;

△ Tyolo 1919 idem

△ Yaka 1870, old Saramaka moved in with his wife Aliki;

△ Bernardin 1885, raised by his father among the Dju where he took a wife;

○ AfaTia 1930, raised by her father among the Dju, stayed with her brother by the same father Féni.

Total: 5 persons, of whom one is raising a child.

102
361
● 613
621

Asisi
Dju Quarter
(Dju lo)
in 1957

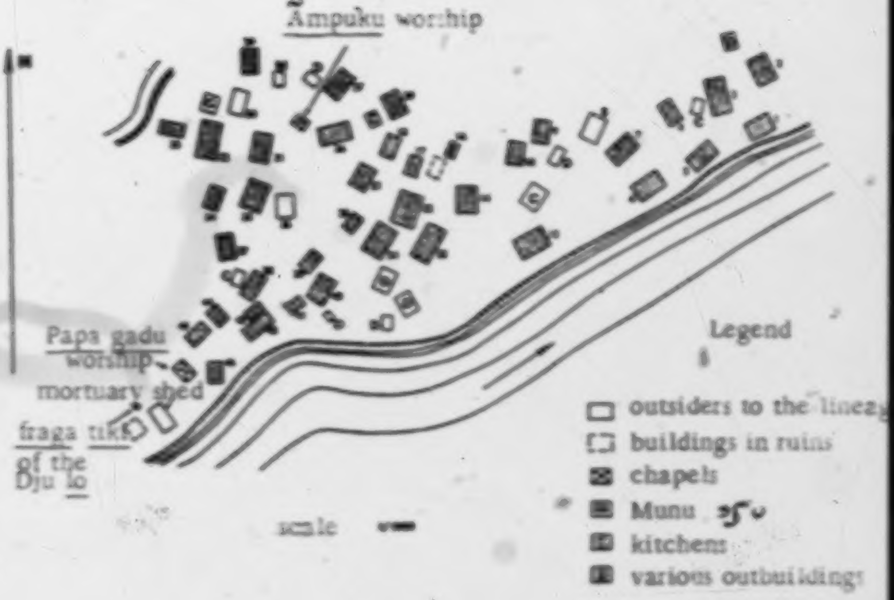
Ãmpuku worship
Papa gadu worship
mortuary shed
fraga tiki of the Dju lo
scale
Legend
outsiders to the lineag
buildings in ruins
chapels
Munu
kitchens
various outbuildings

Fig. 10.

/52/

162
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[622]

Asisi Village--Aware Bakka Quarter

Legend

N°	House of		N°	House of	
1	△ Amusupé 1967	Aw. B. 1, E3	30	○ Noémi	Aw. B. 1, F51
2	△ ~~Kondoku~~, village head		31	△ Empalé	DJUKA
		Aw. B. 1, E22	32	△ Antonu	Aw. B. 1, E47
3	○ Kyéti	Aw. B. 1, E30	33	○ Agyasu her	
4	○ Mani	1. Afl. d12		△ Maliki, husband	L2, F64
5	○ Paniki	1. Afl. d13	34	○ Irma	Aw. B. 1, E37
6	△ Awéni	1. Afl. c12	35	○ Bugi	Aw. B. 1, F41
7	△ Agibidon	Aw. B. 1, E21	36	○ Akumuyé †	Aw. B. 1, D17
8	○ Akichi	Aw. B. 1, F27	37	○ Méédié	Aw. B. 3, F90
9	△ Boolo	Aw. B. 1, E31	38	○ Mona	Aw. B. 1, F50
10	○ Biyo	Aw. B. 1, F11	39	△ Mato	Aw. B. 1, E46
11	△ Matapi	1. Afl. c3	40	○ Chitalina	Aw. B. 1, F43
12	△ Béti	Aw. B. 1, F37	41	○ Lébimay	Aw. B. 1, F55
13	△ Aminto	Aw. B. 3, E74	42	○ Namu	Aw. B. 1, E48
14	○ Kuluba † 1967	Aw. B. 1, D1	43	○ Léna	Aw. B. 1, E52
15	○ Fakima	Aw. B. 2, E61	44	△ Maina	Aw. B. 1, F42
16	○ Abuyu	Aw. B. 2, E63	45	○ Lébimiché	Aw. B. 1, F27
17	○ Koluku	Aw. B. 2, E59	46	○ Amélie	Aw. B. 1, F19
18	△ Garson	Aw. B. 1, F7	47	△ Ernest	Aw. B. 1, E25
19	○ Summa	Aw. B. 3, F81	48	○ Apinda	Aw. B. 1, F16
20	○ Emma	Aw. B. 2, D25	49	△ Béau	Aw. B. 1, F17
21	○ Titi	Aw. B. 1, E16	50	○ Kakié	Aw. B. 1, E18
22	△ Akodo	Aw. B. 2, E55	51	○ Atuku †	Aw. B. 1, E26
24	○ Saanéti	Aw. B. 2, D28	52	○ Ayékuman	Aw. B. 1, F8
25	△ Asakya	Aw. B. 2, E65	53	○ Soéli	Aw. B. 1, F10
26	△ Kondoku (2nd house)		54	△ Dopia	Aw. B. 1, F9
27	○ Akanté	Aw. B. 3, E70	55	△ Baakaman	Aw. B. 1, F12
29	○ Kilina	Aw. B. 3, E71	56	○ Alicia	Aw. B. 1, E22

Total on January 1, 1958: 145 persons of whom 60 are children and adolescents under 16 years.

NOTA: The Awara Bakka lineage settled earliest on the island of Asisi, and when the Boni speak of Asisi village, they usually mean the quarter occupied by this lineage.

[591] Adult inhabitants of the village whose residence is not normal:

△ Empaié 1905, DJUKA mother, raised by his father Pééyon in Asisi, remained there afterward;

△ Maliki 1928, raised by his father in Asisi, remained there afterward;

○ Delina 1931, DJUKA woman settled near her husband Maina.

Total: 3 persons.

102
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Asisi Village
Awara Bakka Quarter
Awara Bakka lo, fractions 1, 2, 3
fragment of the Āfi lineage in 1957

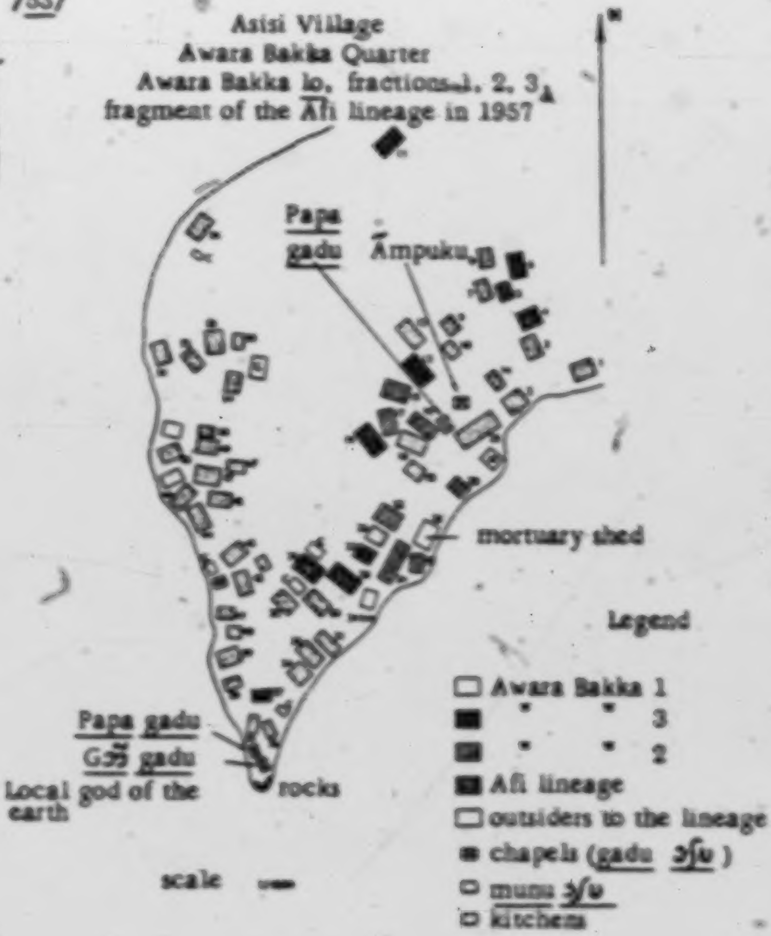
N
Papa gadu
Āmpuku
mortuary shed
Papa gadu
Gɔ̃ɔ̃ gadu
Local god of the earth
rocks
scale
Legend
▢ Awara Bakka 1
■ " " 3
▨ " " 2
■ Āfi lineage
▢ outsiders to the lineage
▪ chapels (gadu ɔʃu)
▫ munu ɔʃu
▫ kitchens

Fig. 11.

Papaïston Village

Legend

162
● 613
621

N°	House of		N°	House of	
1	○ Bélé	P1, F19	18	○ Kumata	P1, G1
2	○ Oben	P1, E13	19	△ Sawen	P1, E7
3	○ Dodo	P1, F11	20	○ Emilia	P1, F3
4	△ Yusu	P1, E16	21	△ Galmo	P1, E15
5	○ Kameu	P1, E14	22	○ Héléna	P1, F2
6	○ Agodéuman	P1, F10	23	○ Gou	P1, F8
7	○ Mili	P1, F20	24	△ Afay †	
8	○ Denani † 1957	P1, E35	25	○ Puti	P2, F71
9	○ Asenfen	P1, E10	26	○ Ondi	P1, F49
10	○ Adundé	P1, H61	27	○ Atipay	P1, F47
11	△ Tefanié, village head	P1, E12	28	○ Dopi	P1, G40
12	△ Tolinga	P1, E11	29	△ Agodéba	P1, E1
13	○ Efa	P1, D4	30	○ Toïna	l. Toïna
14	△ Agoundé	P1, F4	31	○ Apuulobi	l. Toïna
15	△ Dudu	P1, F18	33	△ Apuyu	l. Toïna
16	○ Kokoyo	P1, F9	34	○ Béndya	P1, F12
17	○ Wilhelmina	P1, F1	35	△ Mangoto	P1, F20

622

Total on January 1, 1958: 83 persons, of whom 36 are children and adolescents under 16 years.

No outsider to the lineage lives in the midst of the Papaïston; the members of the Toïna lineage live isolated at the southern end of the village.

/55/

102
361
● 613
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Papaïston Village
in Oct. 1957
Kawina or Papaïston lineage,
fragment of the Toïna (Bakabuchi) lineage

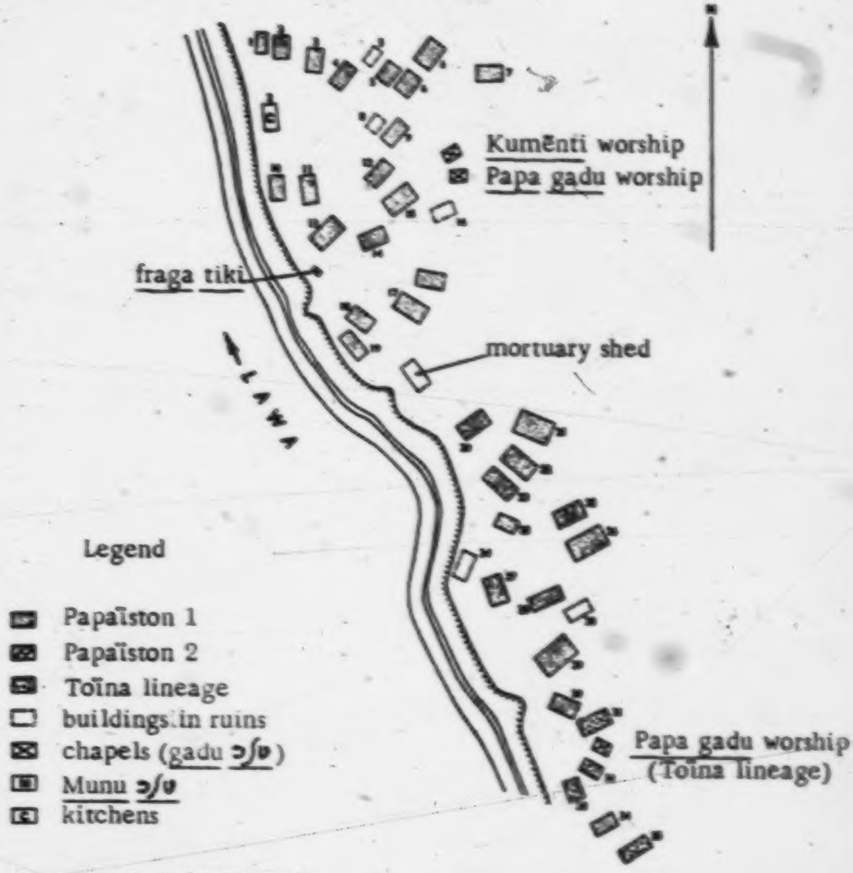
Kumĕnti worship
Papa gadu worship
fraga tiki
LAWA
mortuary shed
Papa gadu worship
(Toïna lineage)
Legend
Papaïston 1
Papaïston 2
Toïna lineage
buildings in ruins
chapels (gadu ɔʃʋ)
Munu ɔʃʋ
kitchens
scale 1/1000

Fig. 12.

/57/

621 Structure and Composition of the Villages

The examination we have just made of the peopling of six villages shows important aspects of the social organization and material life of the Boni.

591 [613] Kin groups in the villages. We have seen that the principle of Boni residence was localization of the whole lineage, men, women, and children, which implies the absence of common household life, man and wife each living in his own village.

This principle of matrilocal residence is effectively applied [162] [621] in nearly all cases. In 1957, out of all the 670 persons in the villages on the French bank, only 27 adults out of 410, or six per cent, were living in the midst of their paternal relatives or had settled permanently in the village of their spouse.

591 613 Nowhere is seen any tendency toward patrilocal grouping; the small lineages issued in the course of the past two generations from Djuka or Bakabuchi wives who came to settle permanently near their husbands do not escape the common law. Their members follow strictly, with respect to their ancestress, the principle of matrilocal residence.

613 591 Another important conclusion is revealed by examination of the genealogical tables:

621 When a scission takes place within a lineage, scattering its members among several villages under different authorities, this scission is never complete. Lineage members feel at home as much in one as in the other of these villages and go at will from one to the other.

613 621 The Dipélu I example is particularly clear in this respect. Its members are divided among these villages: L'Enfant Perdu, Apatu, and Boniville (where this lineage occupies a quarter).

/57 cont./

● 613 The descendants of ○Monika † were scattered among these
621 three villages. Δ Kwau, the eldest, after living at Apatu until
591 the age of 70 years, moved in 1958 to Boniville; ○Djalufu lived
from childhood at L'Enfant Perdu, Cécilia was raised in Boniville
where she has lived since.

Again, let us cite the example of the descendants of Wétiti (Papaïston 1). Out of her 12 adult children and grandchildren living in January, 1958, seven established themselves with her in the habitation she founded on the estuary of the Maroni several hundred kilometers from Boni country, two live in Boniville (where the Papaïston lineage delegated a few of its members to live close to the grand man), three came back to live in Papaïston. In spite of this dispersion, there is perfect understanding among these brothers and sisters who remain in regular relationship.

128 Emigration; immigration; founding of new lineages. It is not
167 possible to give rigorous figures on this subject because it is very
difficult to make a clear distinction between temporary and
permanent emigrants. It does happen that a man /58/ who left
a long time before and on whom they no longer counted comes
back to take up again his place in ordinary living. It also happens
that a man who left for a short trip prolongs his absence indefinitely.

167 Nevertheless, it can be asserted that long lasting emigration affects only a very small percentage of the Boni, and men almost exclusively. Out of 810 persons in the census, in registering the names of their brothers, sisters, and children, we noted only some 20 emigrants considered as permanently lost to their group, including four women.

/58 cont./

166 It is fitting to make an exception of the case of ○Wétiti
619 (Papaïston) and ○Ma Imma (Kotika), who separated from their
groups with their numerous descendants in order to found villages
on the lower course of the river. These groups continue to consider themselves Boni; they are the nuclei of future villages.

For the same reasons it is difficult to get exact figures on
[162] immigration. About 100 Djuka and Saramaka have founded farm-
[621] ing villages in Boni country but keep all their ties with their
villages of origin; some 30 of them have married Boni women;
one can estimate that some 15 have completely bound up their
fate with the Boni and can be considered as integrated into the
villages in which they have settled.

16 All in all one can estimate that emigration and immigration
128 of adult men, both very insignificant, compensate for each other;
they have practically no importance on the social plane (since
[562] only the residence of the women has any influence upon the grouping of the lineages) or on the demographic plane; with the Boni
the pyramid of ages constructed from the census of the villages
represents very faithfully the demographic state of the population
and lends itself to precise calculations of mortality (1).

1. It is not the same for the majority of African populations either because of emigration to the cities or polygamy. The presence of several average polygamists in a village is enough to render completely erroneous the counts of cross-sections by age.

166 The founding of new lineages results from the immigration
571 of several Djuka women, some having come to settle permanently
591 near their husbands, others brought up by their fathers in a Boni
613 village. Half a dozen such cases occur in each generation, but

/58 cont./

166 not all result in the founding of a new lineage, either because
571 the women are sterile or because only one or two surviving children
591 remain who go back to live among their maternal kin. The more
613 children a woman has, the more she tends to settle permanently
with her descendants, for the group thus formed represents a force
and can be self-sufficient as much on the material level as on the
emotional level.

613 Four new lineages have been founded in the whole of Boni
571 country during the past 50 years: /59/
162

Awara Bakka 3 (Anèta)	16 persons	on January 1, 1958
Afi	25	--
Toïna	9	--
Poti	8	--
Total....	58 persons	

Thus these new lineages represent only $\frac{58}{810}$ = 7 per cent of the Boni.

16 The immigration of women from other tribes thus remains
619 an exceptional phenomenon which has few effects on the social
and demographic levels. The development of the Boni as a nation
results only from the natural movement of the population. Study
of the genealogies forces the conclusion that when the members
of these four small lineages are eliminated, the whole of the Boni
are descended from only six or seven women who lived at the end
of the 18th century. Few examples of such growth are to be found.

621 Absence of division of the villages into quarters. We have
[183] seen that the custom of the Refugee Blacks is opposed to all that
could alter the system of classificatory kinship and leads to the
individualization of segments within the lineage. This principle
[613] is translated very clearly in the structure of the villages, where
one observes no tendency at all toward division into separate quarters,

613 /59 cont./

621 except in villages like Boniville where the issue of several lineages
coexist. The rule is that in the homogeneous villages the mem-
[591] bers of the lineage are entirely free to build their houses anywhere. One observes only a certain tendency of children to group themselves around their mother as far as places are available (see especially in the village of Loka the intermingling of the homes of the descendants of Adédumi, Awẽnkina, and other ancestresses belonging to the same lineage).

In villages like Asisi-Awara Bakka, where are grouped the members of a lo including individualized fractions, it is the same.

These fractions have no tendency whatever to form separate quarters (see in the plan of Asisi the intermingling of the homes of the Aw.B.1, 2, 3) any more than they tend to group their clearings in a separate area.

The Boni are apt to say: "Barriers must not be raised between brothers."

621 425 In a general way, examination of the village plans shows
that the Boni build their houses to suit themselves without any
privileged orientation and without grouping or isolating them in
any special way. Any member of the lineage may build on a site
left free (for example, the site of an old hut after the death of
its owner, when it has been adjudged to be too ruined to be possi-
[622] ble to give as a legacy). He must only have the authorization of
the head of the village and also the assent of the neighbors, whom
he must not disturb. Since the houses occupy only a small
amount of space and most of them have no outbuildings (kitchen
[578] or granary), this assent is very easily given. We have never
heard it said that people argued about a site.

/60/

351 There are no gardens around the cabins because the con-
[134] ditions of the soil and climate render permanent cultivation
[241] impracticable. The nearest thing is a few persons planting some
banana trees around the hut at the foot of which they spread the
361 hearth ashes. As a general rule villages are closely hemmed in
137 by secondary brushwood, and people plant far from one another
311 and sometimes very far from the village.

423 If it does not admit the appropriation of land to individuals,
824 custom does admit, on the other hand, the ownership of trees.
In the villages the useful trees (coconut trees, maripa palms
/attalea excelsa/, mango trees, cashew-apple trees, etc.) all
[428] have owners. The tree is considered as personal property and is
transmitted by inheritance in the same way as a gun or a canoe.
428 The procedure employed by the Boni for the dispersion of the
824 inheritance among the members of the lineage of the dead man
● 613 sometimes has the effect of transmitting the ownership of a tree
to a person who is not of the village. For example, in Boniville
[222] where a fraction of the Kotika lineage lives, two caumou palms
were bequeathed a long time ago to members of the lineage living
in Kotika, who come each year to gather the fruit.

Appendix

173
[125]

Local Chronology Used for Determining Ages

	1876	Death of Grand Man Atyaba.
	1877	Trip of the explorer Crevaux from the Maroni to the Yari and the Amazon, in the company of Apatu, head of the Boni village.
[621] [361]	1882	Apatu secedes, taking with him about 150 persons and founds the village which bears his name on the lower course of the Maroni.

/63 cont./
571 that he can protect himself only by submitting to the law of the
626 group. In this doubtless must be seen the deep reason for the im-
156 portance attached to death and mourning, events around which is
[181] centered the activity of the usual societies and which entail a
[761] veritable mobilization.

626 It would be very difficult to condense the custom of the
771 Refugee Blacks into a rigorous code. If one wished to do it, one
would have to write as Article 1: "The living will conform to the
will of the gods and the ancestors as it is expressed through the
mouths of those possessed and by the movements of the bearers of
the dead."

● 613 Each one of the tribes of the Refugee Blacks is formed of a
619 certain number of matrilineages.

There is no limit on the number of these lineages, and it can be asserted that if any lineage whatever, detached from another tribe, asks to live in the midst of the Boni, it will be welcomed. From the first generation the children consider themselves as Boni.

In this regard one can cite the example of the Awara Bakka 3 lineage and that of the small lineage founded in Boniville by a Djuka woman, wife of Grand Man Ochi. All her descendants consider themselves Boni. /64/

[829] But only the great lineages which constituted the tribe at its
[643] origin are social units recognized by the grand man, and only their
heads are called to be members of the council.

128 We shall study first the interior functioning of the lineage, then the institutions going beyond the framework of the lineages.

/64 cont./

Functioning of the Lineage

613 We have seen that the effective social group, *lo*, fraction of an extended lineage, is a social unit possessing all that is necessary to a human group to live, settling its differences and enforcing its rights:

--Ancestor worship;

--A head filling at the same time the role of priest of the ancestors and judge;

--Collective rights over a portion of land.

613 619 A lineage could live perfectly independent without any tie of dependence vis-à-vis any tribe whatsoever. Actually, there exist in the interior of Surinam several lineages of very ancient origin (which are joined under the name of Bakabuchi = back of the bush) who live totally independent.

613 561 No privileged line of descendants exists within a lineage and the only hierarchy recognized is that of age, or more exactly of closeness to the founding ancestress.

613 561 604 Collective tutelage of uncles in the classificatory sense is effective only in childhood, but the principle of it continues during the whole lifetime. In a discussion a man must avoid violently contradicting one of his "uncles" and finds it normal that more weight is attached to the opinion of this uncle than to his own. In 1956 we were subjected to some disagreeable incidents due to a *bossman* who was the classificatory uncle (although the same age) of the motorman of his boat; the motorman hesitated to order him vigorously as he did his other *bossman* and he, on his part, did not fail to remind his "nephew" of the respect due him.

/64 cont./

613 Nevertheless the lineage is not strictly speaking divided into
561 age grades; and when the men assemble in council for an affair
which concerns the whole group, all may take the floor without
consideration either of age or of place in the genealogy.

613 The council (kuutu). This is the principal social institution with-
571 in the lo. The kuutu is the assembly of the men of the lo without
561 consideration of age. No precise rule defines the age at which an
adolescent may begin to attend it, and in principle all may take
the floor. But decorum requires that unless they are personally
interested in the question or have something important to say, the
young let the elders do the talking. /65/

613 It is the captain (hedemã) and in his absence the eldest of
571 the lineage who presides. He faces the assemblage, surrounded by
some of the oldest men.

[537] Opposite him he has a respondent (piki mã) who greets all
his sentences with ritual approbations hiya, hiya ba!, na so!, etc.,
without which a Refugee Black could not suitably make his speech.

Each one then speaks if he feels the need to express his
opinion. Women do not take part in the council unless it is a
[562] question of a daughter's marriage; but it happens that men leave
the meeting to go get the advice of their mothers and take their
places again. If it concerns a simple affair without suprahuman
complications, such as the fixing of the price of a piece of work,
the discussion is often quickly over; but in the opposite case the
discussion continues interminably, for there is no exact rule for
concluding it. Only a negative rule exists: the determined
opposition of one-fourth to one-fifth of the council members prevents the carrying out of a project.

/65 cont./

● 613 571 It seems that they expect unanimity to occur and that basically (here are found again the mental mechanisms peculiar to the Refugee Blacks), they expect it to take place by itself, to impose itself as if obvious. If nothing of the sort happens, they separate without deciding anything.

613 571 828 This public discussion of all important questions results, in the thought of the Refugee Blacks, not so much from a belief in the wisdom of assemblies as from fear of malevolence. If questions were debated in a small group, there would immediately be mistrustful and jealous minds who would see dark intrigues in it. The constant concern of the Refugee Blacks, when they have something important to say, is to find witnesses. That is in fact the role of the council, and it is why there is neither a lower age limit for taking part nor a precise rule governing the fashion of conducting the discussion.

613 554 The Captain or hedemã. The head of each of the great lineages which have been part of the tribe since its origin is recognized by the grand man as hedemã or "captain" (this word had been used since the original settlement of Europeans in Guiana to designate the chiefs of Indian tribes).

[692] The captains preside over the lãnti kuutu, supreme council whose functions are principally judiciary.

No precise rule of succession exists, and the choice of the members of the lineage is entirely free with regard to kinship ties. [183] When the old people are questioned about this, they usually answer that the successor must be chosen from among the classificatory "nephews" of the dead man, that is, from among the members of the lineage who are one more generation away from the foundress.

/65 cont./

613 It is enough to consult the genealogical tables, on each of
554 which we have indicated the transmission of the office of captain,
[183] to be convinced that nothing of the kind is practiced: besides, it
would be impossible in fact. The council chooses from among
[643] /66/ the "brothers" and the "nephews" of the deceased. If the
nomination is obtained, it is valid only if the grand man does
not oppose his veto. He can require that the council be begun
again.

613 The grand man observes the behavior of the new head for
554 about a year, and if he is satisfied with him, he calls him to
643 Boniville together with the members of the lineage. He turns
over to him the bench and the baton of command (waka tiki)
prepared by the doyen of the lineage. He takes him by the hand
and has him sit down on the bench while proclaiming him head.

613 This appointment is made for life; once named, a captain
554 cannot be dismissed.

The succession of the last three captains of the Dju lo is particularly interesting (see the genealogical table of this group).

In 1948, the first time we passed through, Diolè (El) had been captain for nearly 50 years, succeeding Doomé, whose position we have not been able to place exactly in the genealogical table.

Diolè died in 1951 at about 90 years of age. At the time of the mourning his yɔrka was questioned, and it designated ((through the medium of the coffin bearers) as a desirable successor one of his nephews in the classificatory sense, named Loko (F39).

[643] The council which met upon the close of the mourning
[685] for Diolè, in 1952, approved the designation of Loko; but the
grand man opposed this appointment because Loko had been guilty
of a serious crime (aggravated theft) and had incurred a sentence.

/66 cont./

113 554 The choice of the council then turned to Atikati (E18), the oldest among them (he was more than 70 years old), this even though there were other classificatory nephews of Diolè, perfectly capable.

Atikati died in 1955. The choice of the council, meeting in 1956, was Adiiso (F37), a man of about 60.

The place of various ones on the genealogical table shows well that no precise rule of succession exists, and that the choice of the council is free.

Likewise, in looking at the genealogical table of the Awara Bakka lo, divided into three fractions, one sees that the office of captain can pass indiscriminately from one to the other. It passed from Asèmbay (Aw.B.2) to Pèèyon (Aw.B.1), then to Kondoku (Aw.B.1).

These observations permit the statement that there is no privileged line within the lineage (1).

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1. Understanding by "line" for lack of a more appropriate word, a linking causing the following of an individual, in the next generation, of a single individual chosen according to a definite criterion. One could speak for example in certain types of organization of lines of eldest sons, playing a privileged role with respect to the other lines constituting the lineage. Nothing like this exists among the Refugee Blacks.

/66 cont./

613 The small, recently founded lineages attached to a lo each
554 designate a head: for example, the Afi lineage has Awéni as
head. But this head remains subject to the authority of the cap-
tain of the lo and his office has no official existence.

/67/ The appointment is made by a council - kuutu - of
[787] the lineage, but it is not valid until endorsed by the grand man.
When the deceased captain did not, while living, designate
any successor, his yɔrka is interrogated in order to know whom he
prefers. That does not have the force of law but can influence
the council.

The council meets several days after the end of mourning
for the deceased captain. All the male members of the lineage,
regardless of age, give their opinion. Strictly speaking, they do
not vote; but the nomination is considered valid only if three-
quarters of those present are in agreement. If not, they disband
without having decided anything, and the lineage can remain with-
out a head for years. On this topic can be cited the example of
the Awara Bakka lo, which remained without a head from 1935 (?)
to 1953, until the appointment of Konduku. During this time the
[643] grand man had designated Captain Popo, head of the Lapé lineage,
to secure the interim. As for the religious functions, they were
taken care of by the doyen of the lineage.

The captain has the following functions within the lineage:

1) He is priest of the ancestor worship and presides over
[793] the prayers and offerings made before the fraga tiki. In this duty
[769] he is replaced in case of absence by the oldest man of the lineage.

In case of the death of a member of the lineage from the
[761] effect of the kunu, the captain convokes all his people in order
[782] to proceed to collective prayers and offerings intended to appease
the gods;

● 613 /67 cont./

554 692 [642] 2) He exerts an extended judiciary power, for it is taken for granted that the legal and political power of the tribe cannot intervene in affairs between members of the same lineage, even murder, for it can be said that in the custom of the Refugee Blacks the lineage represents only one single life.

It is obligatory that the following be settled within the framework of the lineage:

[254] --Accusations of murder by sorcery where victim and supposed murderer are both members of the lineage;

[423] [578] --Arguments over lands within the zones effectively possessed by the lineage.

613 554 192 577 The way in which the captain exercises his functions as judge is hard to know, because for the Refugee Blacks it is extremely shameful to reveal the dissensions within one's own lineage. And as for those of other lineages, if one succeeds in becoming acquainted with them, one scarcely dares talk about it for if that came to be known you could smart for it.

613 466 554 Lineage heads have a certain authority on the material level; they designate the men charged with doing the work ordered by the administration, but truth to tell, it is above all a question of choosing from among volunteers, for it is profitable work. They might not succeed in imposing clearly unpopular orders.

613 554 124 The captain designates a certain number of supervisors or basia to help him. Their /68/ role consists in watching over the cleanliness of the village, in making all the material arrangements relative to dances and burials, in calling together those concerned to the meetings of the council.

613 571 The lo constitutes a unit from the spiritual point of view, but it is important to notice that it does not involve any collective organization on the material level. In this domain the wildest individualism reigns; there are no tools for collective use, and people get together to make their clearings only if they want to.

/68 cont./

● 613 The basia are the mouthpieces of the captain, and not at
624 all deputies having specific authority over a definite fraction of
[562] the village. There are three or four per village; in addition there
are one or two women basia through whom the village head commands the work reserved for the women.

613 The head of the lineage possesses no religious powers over
554 the land. The Refugee Blacks assume that the fertility of the
241 soil depends exclusively on local divinities, to whom each one
782 prays on his own behalf.

613 The captain, no more than the council, does not have the
554 right to expel a member from the lineage, even for marked un-
681 worthiness. This is one of the most remarkable aspects of the legal conceptions of the Refugee Blacks, tied to the idea that a lineage represents only one single life. There again the thought of the Refugee Blacks can be regarded as the extreme opposite of the thought of the Bamiléké, with whom the head alone retains possession of the rights over the land, expulsion constituting the supreme social sanction.

881 Initiation; age classes; men's society. These African institutions seem totally unknown to the Refugee Blacks. No form of initiation of adolescents exists, and no ceremony marks collectively their
[304] entrance into social life. Circumcision and excision are not
[852] practiced. For the children, boys and girls, there are two stages:
[561] that of the first garment, which is given upon the appearance of the pubic hair, at about 12-13 years, without ceremony, and the end of education which coincides with marriage.

561 The society of the Refugee Blacks rests however in large part on age hierarchy; strictly speaking there are no age classes involving a fixed organization, but they exist tacitly:

/69 cont. /

562 828 [171] It is assumed once and for all that women are shrews on whom one cannot count and from whom one can get nothing. The Refugee Blacks are inexhaustible on this subject and their opinion about the women of their group is very similar to that of Africans in general: they call them ill-natured, devoid of feeling, selfish, greedy, and unfaithful.

562 571 [965] In general, women are held apart from regular social life; no form of customary society of women exists. In the mourning ceremonies, which correspond to a veritable mobilization of the village, they play no role, except to prepare the meals.

562 787 794 Yet the women play indirectly an important role in the social life by way of the cults of possession. The *Papa gadu* gods so formidable have women nearly exclusively as bearers, and we shall see in studying the functioning of the *kunu* that they are the principal actors in this. Through this activity, which is exerted in arbitrary fashion on the outskirts of the institutions of regular social life, the women maintain around themselves an atmosphere of fear; it is not impossible that the functioning of these cults is influenced by the concern of the women to maintain their privileged position in the society of the Refugee Blacks.

562 157 Many women are charitable and have a certain generosity toward the members of their family, insuring the maintenance of the old men without resources. But their benevolence is essentially subjective and extends only to a small circle of personal friends, and their nearest relatives. As soon as the elders appeal to them for a question of general interest, claiming to give them orders or even advice, they meet an attitude systematically malevolent and stubborn. /70/

● [613] The lineage heads avoid giving them orders directly, for they run a strong risk of getting themselves insulted, as we have observed many a time.

/70 cont./

159 562 613 [591] In March, 1957, Awéni, head of the Afi lineage, established in Asisi, was concerned about regrouping the members of his lineage and especially bringing back to Asisi Magdaléna (c20), a woman of about 45 years who had settled in Kormotibo near her husband L.... († 1955), with her children and others whom she had raised. He went to Kormotibo and pointed out to her that since her husband was dead, she no longer had any reason to stay there and that she should come back to Asisi. Magdaléna insulted him in front of the inhabitants of the village, proclaimed that she had no orders to receive from anybody; then when he insisted, she armed herself with a stick and chased him across the village as far as the landing place. He had to re-embark precipitately to the laughter of the Kormotibo people.

Political and Legal Powers

643 613 *The grand man*. The head of the Dikan *lo* fills the office of grand man of the Boni. The present grand man, Difu, was about 67 years old in 1958.

[193] Oral tradition has kept the names of his seven predecessors:

Gongo (Dikan *lo*)	1810-1840	dates noted according to Coudreau
Labi (Adam?) (Dikan *lo*)	1840-1870	
Atyaba (Kotika *lo*)	1870-1876	
Anato (Kotika *lo*)	1876-1891	
Ochi (Dikan *lo*)	1891-1915	
Awensay *id.*	1917-1936	
Difu *id.*	since 1937.	

[195] According to information collected by Coudreau in 1887, Gongo was the successor to Agosu, himself successor to Boni. Upon the death of Labi, there were only women and children in the Dikan *lo*. The office of grand man then passed to the Kotika *lo* with Atyaba and Anato. It then came back to the Dikan *lo* with Ochi.

/70 cont./

643 In 1957 the Dikan lineage was practically extinct. There
● 613 remained only Grand Man Difu and his elder brother Samalobi,
very old.

[829] The present grand man does not know the genealogy of his
lineage beyond his grandmother. /Fig. 14 appears here./ /71/

[648] At the death of Awensay it was Samalobi, eldest of Awensay's
classificatory nephews, who was to be named; but the French
administration thought they had to oppose it, judging him too
old; he yielded with good grace.

613 Samalobi, the ancestor, the patriarch of the Boni, died
[165] in May, 1957 at over 100 years old. Although very weakened by
[554] his infirmities and nearly blind, he kept great prestige and no
important decision was made without his consent.

173 The son of Apatu, companion of Crevaux, he had retained
an exact memory of the explorer whom he had accompanied
during part of his trip in 1877. It is thanks to his memories that
Crevaux's prestige has remained so great on the Maroni.

643 The grand man judges without appeal disputes between
692 members of different lineages. Truly serious affairs are extremely
578 rare, if one keeps in mind that:

[613] --Disputes over the payment of dowry, paying it back in
[583] case of divorce, and the assignment of the children, which form
[586] the main part of the cases argued before ordinary African jurisdictions, do not exist among the Refugee Blacks;

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613

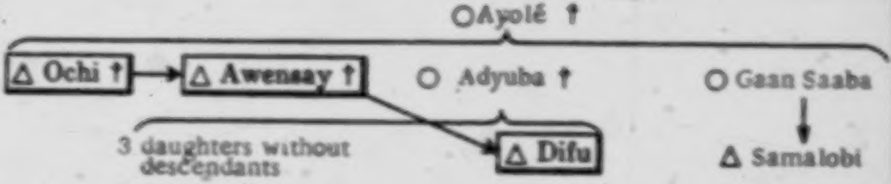

Fig. 14. Filiation of the last three grand men of the Boni.

/75 cont. /

692 The Djuka had killed the tapir which had sunk. Pressed for
685 time, he had had to leave, requesting the Asisi people to look for
[224] it.

The next day Pototo and Amusupé found the animal floating
[251] between two waters. They hid it in the bush and had it smoke-
dried on their own behalf. They ate it with their wives (about 100
[262] kilos of meat).

That ended up by becoming known, and a jealous man denounced them to the grand man.

Called before the lanti kuutu, they had to apologize and were each sentenced to pay as a fine to the grand man a demijohn of 15 liters of tafia (worth about 6,000 francs) within four months.

Both of them were at a loss to pay this fine, belonging to the
[735] category of ne'er-do-wells who have no regular activity and live
from day to day, selling some fish or game from time to time.

Amusupé appealed to Captain Konduku, head of his lineage,
● [613] who agreed to pay for the tafia for him, Amusupé reimbursing him
little by little.

[613] As for Pototo, the head of his lineage refused categorically
to help him because he had eaten the maïpouri alone without allow-
[689] ing his family to share it (the village people would have found it
normal to profit by the crime, but they deemed it immoral that
[123] one of their relatives had deprived them of meat). After three and
a half months, Pototo began to occupy himself seriously at a paid
job which he had the luck to find because we needed a bossman
for two weeks.

577 The Boni did nothing but laugh while telling us this story.
626 Affairs of this kind, which do not involve any suprahuman inter-
vention, escape in large measure their social morality; they have
[522] a certain feeling for what should be done, but submit to it only in
proportion as they fear a material and immediate sanction.

/77/

CHAPTER V

000

STUDY OF THE DISTRIBUTION OF LANDS AMONG THE LINEAGES (1)

[114]

1. Part written with the cooperation of Mr. P. Frenay, assistant technical geographer.

Appropriation of Land in the Customary Law of the Refugee Blacks

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The fundamental principle of the customary law of the Refugee Blacks as far as land is concerned is that only the lineage can retain real rights. The individual can hold only a right of use, which disappears at his death.

This right concerns exclusively the working of the land for plantings and does not extend, as we shall see further on, to hunting and gathering.

Each lineage possesses recognized rights over certain portions of land, more or less well delimited according to the density of the population, but known by all and giving no occasion (at least in Boni country) for any dispute.

Right of use. Within these zones there is joint possession of the rights among all the members of the lineage; each one has rights of use over a certain number of "clearings" which he habitually uses in turn to make his plantings.

The right of use can be given away: for example, if someone thinks he will no longer need a clearing he was habitually cultivating, he gives the right to utilize it to another member of the lineage.

423 /77 cont./
613 Land held by right of use cannot be sold nor rented, but only
671 loaned. Neither can it be transmitted by inheritance; this would
[428] be entirely contrary to the thinking and custom of the Refugee Blacks,
hostile to everything that would violate the legal joint possession
of the lineage. Inheritance can affect only the harvest in process
[425] from clearings. Once this harvest is made, the land can be
occupied by any member of the lineage, man or woman, who
wishes to cultivate it; and if there is any dispute, it is obligatorily
settled within the lineage; the grand man would refuse to judge
it. Kinship degree /78/ does not enter in, at least in principle,
since they can say to each other "brother," "uncle," or "grand-
father" in the classificatory sense.

423 The only attenuation of the rigor of this principle provided
428 for by custom is that upon the death of a woman, her daughters
have a right of priority to utilize her lands.

423 The Refugee Blacks have a clear tendency to remain faithful
241 all their lives to the same clearings. The study we have made of
128 the clearings in Boni country gives poor information on the history
of each clearing, for it would have been necessary to be able to
consult on the spot a large number of people, which we were not
able to do; nevertheless it allows us to state that in the neighbor-
hood of the residence villages, individuals keep their right of use
of a clearing for the length of their lives.

42 Here is for example the transmission of rights over clearings
241 101 to 112 /sic/ (see genealogical table of the Dju lo) (1).

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1. See plate at the end of this work: Distribution of lands in the neighborhood of the principal Boni villages.

/79 cont./

42 241 Thus out of ten clearings we find only two cases where a member of the lineage gave his right of use to another during his lifetime; in four cases the right of use was taken over by a daughter upon the death of her mother; in two cases it passed to a distant relative.

241 423 425 562 Anyone, man or woman, may hold rights of use. But examination of the clearings shows that the great majority of men do not ask for any, and that nearly all the land is appropriated by women. In the example noted, out of ten clearings only one is appropriated by a man. This derives from the fact that most men are content to cut their wives' clearings on their wives' lands but do not bother to farm on their own account.

241 423 [613] Each woman holds rights of use over a certain number of clearings distributed in the different territorial zones of her lineage. It is important to have, so to say, many cords to one's bow, for it is necessary to be able, according to the activity of the manioc ants, to pass from one sector to another or on the contrary to work prematurely a clearing which one was hoping to leave fallow for several years.

241 425 [423] For example, Tini (F1) holds rights over six to seven clearings. For one (No. 104), she created the right of use on her own behalf by clearing it out of old secondary forest without any known owner. As for another (No. 107), she received it from Loka (D13), a distant relative, as a gift during his lifetime. As for the others (for example No. 106), she created the right on her own behalf by farming them first upon the death of their holder.

241 423 The right of use can be loaned, either to a member of the lineage or even to an outsider. It is specified that the loan is made for a certain number of years and that it is revocable. In such a case the donor does not lose his right of use.

/80/

241 Real right. The principle is that he who makes a clearing out of
423 primary forest (or old secondary forest without a known owner)
425 creates at the same time as a right of use for himself, an impre-
613 scriptible right for his lineage.

These two notions are very separate in the minds of the Refugee Blacks. The exercise of a right of use, even over a long period of time, over land already recognized as the possession of another lineage does not create any real right at all.

For example, ○ Béniti † 1953 (E5), an old woman of the Dju lo, had founded a farming habitation in the Kuyaku locality, where she worked the earth for several tens of years. But since these lands, even though unoccupied, were regarded as belonging to the Dipélu II lo (Kormotibo village), Béniti's work did not create any right at all for the Dju lo. If her daughters do not agree and if the habitation disappears, it is people of the Dipélu II lo who will be able to occupy the lands.

613 Consequences of the material scission of a lineage. When fraction
571 A' of lineage A emigrates and goes to settle on the land of another
425 village, B, which cedes a portion of land to it, the members of
423 fraction A', thus separated, keep all their rights over the land from
which they originally came. But the reverse is not true: the people who remained in the village of origin of the lineage (A) have no right over the land ceded to the A' out of B's territory.

At the end of a certain time, and especially if the lineage (B) had never really occupied the land granted, it is assumed that the lineage (A') is possessor of it without restriction.

This was the case for example of the fraction of the Dipélu II who left Kormotibo village about 1930 to establish themselves in Asisi near the Awara Bakka lineage. The Awara Bakka granted them some unoccupied lands near Asisi village in the Tapo locality.
[162) This fraction, now numbering about 30 persons, considers that it has exclusive rights over these lands where the Kormotibo people cannot come to farm, but it has lost nothing as regards its rights over Kormotibo soil.

/80 cont./

621 Case of the village of Boniville. This village constitutes an
613 especially interesting case, for it brings together small fractions of
[174] the various lineages permanently settled there. It helps one to
understand what the territorial implantation of the Refugee Blacks
may have been toward the end of the 18th century at the time when
their institutions were developing.

621 The principle is that the Boniville lands belong to the grand
613 man, the last representative of the Dikan lineage; he granted
423 individually to the inhabitants of the village the right to farm his
[643] lands. These inhabitants thus hold only a right of use, and there
can be no competition among them for the possession of the real
[425] rights. But the principle of transmission of the right of use in the
same lineage remains for each clearing taken separately. For example, Klémenti (Dju, F7), who made a clearing out of primary
forest, concedes that after him his land may be occupied by any
member of the Dju lineage residing in Boniville, but not by Dju
lineage members living in Asisi. /81/

423 Few in number on a relatively extensive territorial sector,
621 the inhabitants of Boniville have not felt the need to divide the
sector granted by the grand man into precise territorial zones.
423 It is difficult to foresee what will happen after the death of Grand
425 Man Difu when the rights of use will be transformed into real rights.
613 It is probable that a territorial division among the fractions of the
lineage established in Boniville will be imperceptibly created by
the simple fact that competition will arise among them.

423 Fishing, hunting, gathering, and mineral exploitation rights. These rights are totally separate from the right to farm; in this respect the conceptions of the Refugee Blacks reveal the precariousness of the bonds between the individual and the soil, which results from ecological conditions.

/81 cont./

423 The right to fish in certain rivers is held by lineages; other
226 rivers are regarded as property common to the inhabitants of a
● 613 village, whatever their kinship may be.

621 For example, the right to fish in Kumata Kiiki, a small
[425] creek of the Surinam bank, near the village of Kotika, is reserved
for members of the Lapé lineage (the members of this lineage farmed there formerly, but they abandoned these lands, currently farmed by the Kotika people).

Maripa and Likanaon creeks, downstream from Boniville, are reserved for the inhabitants of Boniville.

Asisi Creek is reserved for the inhabitants of Asisi (Dju, Awara Bakka, and Dipélu II lineages).

423 The right to hunt cannot be reserved; everyone has the right
[224] to hunt anywhere.

[222] The right to gather and the right to cut trees for making
[313] planks or boats is generally bound up with the right to farm.

The right to collect underground products is completely
423 independent of the right to farm. For example, if someone finds
316 a seam of kaolin (pemba) on the lands of another lineage, he
317 exploits it freely. This aspect of the legal conceptions of the
Refugee Blacks is very interesting, for it shows that even from the
423 point of view of customary law, the grand man is not entitled to
316 exercise any rights over the production of the Creole gold miners.
648 He could demand indemnities only insofar as these gold miners
farm lands over which the Boni exercise customary rights. The interminable discussions which the claims of Grand Man Anato brought on at the time of the Lawa gold rush at the end of the past century would have been avoided by a better knowledge of the customary law.

/82/

Territorial Implantation of Lineages

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613 As we have shown, the Refugee Blacks are caught between
311 contradictory imperatives:

--Their legal thought, centered on joint possession by the lineage, pushes them to distribute land among the lineages in compact blocs;

[182] --The geographic environment, and most especially the
[241] ravages of the manioc ant, obliges them to give to each individual the possibility of abruptly changing his territorial sector or to hasten the planned rhythm of his fallow fields.

The solution which has imposed itself has been to divide the lands of each lineage into a certain number of zones scattered on the two banks of the river. Instead of finding large blocks with a single holder, we are going to find sectors sometimes rather small. With that exception, the legal principles of the Refugee Blacks keep all their practical value.

621 Each village possesses a certain number of landing places
504 or dégrads /wharfs/, from which fan out a certain number of paths.
613 The wharf is the center of a territorial zone within which the
423 members of the lineage fan out, pushing their clearings farther and
farther, until they meet the clearings created by other lineages.
[487] At this moment a boundary is in effect created, at least in some
points (1).

[184] 1. Among the Djuka it happens that a wharf may be common to two lineages and that the boundary may be marked by a big road perpendicular to the river and starting from the wharf; this system corresponds to a concern for establishing more precise boundaries between groups occupying land to the maximum. It is not observed anywhere in Boni country.

/82 cont./

423 311 This fact is easily observable in the neighborhood of recently created farming habitations. In the figure "Distribution of lands ... in the neighborhood of the confluence with the Inini" (see at the end of the present chapter), the lands of the Antonu habitation are clearly seen distributed along two paths, one on each bank of the river.

241 423 In the sectors near Boni residence villages, cultivated in days gone by, the main lines of these boundaries are known everywhere. Still, they are far from being as precise as in the African countries with dense population, where the absence of manioc ants allows a regular rotation of lands. In Boni country this rotation is most variable, the duration of fallow ground going from two to 20 years [136] [311] and more. Vast sectors where the activity of the manioc ants suddenly becomes greater are abandoned for many years. When they are cultivated again, people no longer remember the exact boundaries of the former clearings and the new holders cut their clearings in their own way, taking care only that they remain on the lands of their lineage.

000 /83/ STUDY OF THE DISTRIBUTION OF LANDS IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD OF RESIDENCE VILLAGES

Inventory of Part of the Cultivated or Fallow Plots in January, 1957

621 [241] Study of the clearings of Agodé (Boniville). The lands adjacent to Boniville are worked in a very unsystematic fashion because of the composite character of the village population.

[613] Let us call to mind that Agodé includes fractions of six lineages:

/83 cont./

621 --The Dikan lo, lineage of the grand man, nearly extinct
● 613 --A fragment of the Kotika lo
--A fragment of the Dju lo
--A fragment of the Lapé lo
--A fragment of the Papaïston lo
--A fragment of the Dipélu I lo

621 613 423 241 The Dikan lineage holds the real rights over the whole of the lands situated on the eastern bank of the Lawa, from Puu Mofu Creek to the south up to the edge of L'Enfant Perdu village to the north.

The fragment of the Papaïston lo established in Boniville is in a special situation; it has for a long time possessed the lands situated to the south of Puu Mofu Creek up to the edge of Loka village (Lapé lo). This group has remained strongly organized and its members do not make clearings outside their zone, in which they have all the space desirable anyway.

The members of the other groups make their clearings on all [643] the surface formerly occupied by the Dikan lo. The grand man has reserved for his personal use the lands situated near Likanaon Creek, where he has built a farming habitation. The inhabitants of Boniville make their clearings on all the rest and without any definite territorial grouping.

[101] This finage (1), like the others studied in the present chapter, was visited in January, 1957, in other words shortly after the end of the land-clearing and at the beginning of the planting.

Study of some clearings of the Agodé bakka locality "behind Boniville":

abbreviations:	(K)	Kotika	(D)	Dikan	(Dip)	Dipélu
	(Dju)	Dju	(P)	Papaïston	(L)	Lapé

1. Finage: zone cultivated by the members of a collectivity.

[Agodé bakka locality]

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No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
1 ○	Kamina (K2, E92) clearing cut by her husband	1956	lived in Boniville	4 years; last user Todo (K2, F68), in 1952
2 △	Grand Man Difu (D)	1953	--	2 years; used by the grand man in 1951
3 ○	Béniti (Dju, E5)	1951	--	cleared by Béniti about 1915, cut by her 3 times in all
4 ○	Mimi (K3, E156)	1951	--	cut on old secondary forest
5 △	Todo (K2, F68)	1951	--	2 years; already cut by Todo in 1951 and 1953
6 ○	Lèya (K2, F99); clearing cut by her husband	1956	--	6 years; clearing cut by Kanayen (Kotika lo)† in 1950
7 ○	Lésina (K2, F69) clearing cut by her husband Manku (Dip. I)	1953	--	?

[Agodé bakka locality]

/84 cont./

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No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
8 △	Grand Man Difu	1952	--	?
9 ○	Paata (Djuka woman settled in Boniville)	1947(?)	*id.*	already used by Paata about 1940
10 ○	Térésa (L2, E57) clearing cut by her sons	1953	*id.*	?
11 ○	Paata (see above)	1953		already used by Paata in 1950

Thus, out of this group of eleven clearings, two remain attributed to the grand man, one to a woman of the Dju lineage, two to a Djuka woman, one to a woman of the Lapé lineage, five to members of the Kotika lineage, all inhabitants of Boniville. /85/

[361]
[166]
[731]
[554]

Study of the clearings of the fraction of the Papaïston established in Boniville. This group formerly lived in Puu Mofu village at the mouth of the creek of the same name, abandoned about 1940 following an epidemic. Its settlement in Boniville is therefore recent. The oldest man in the group, Bukuman, a man of some 60 years, exerts *de facto* authority.

This group tends to add to its initial *finage* the band of land included between Boniville village and Puu Mofu Creek belonging to the Dikan *lo* (especially clearings Nos. 12, 13, 14).

[Papaïston fraction living in Boniville]

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No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
12 ○	Apinda (P1, G26)	1955	member of the Papaïston fraction living in Boniville	20 years; last user Adyuba (D) † mother of the grand man
13 ○	Alasani (P1, F34)	1953	id.	20 years idem
14 ○	Lémiki (K3, E130)	1945 (?)	lives in Boniville	20 years (this clearing is not in Papaïston territory)
15 △	Bukuman (P1, F32), for his wife	1956	member of the Papaïston fraction in Boniville	20 to 25 years
16 ○	Apinda; clearing cut by her husband Amatodja	1954	id.	id.
17 ○	Alasani	1954	id.	id.

[Papaïston fraction living in Boniville]

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/85 cont./

No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
18 ○	Térésa (L2, E57)	1955	woman of Lapé lineage living in Boniville; has worked there as an exception with Bukuman's permission	id.
18a ○	Alasani; clearing cut by her son Nanga	1956	member of the Papaïston fraction living in Boniville	id.
19 ○	Pélui (P1, F33)	1954	id.	id. /86/
20 △	Bukuman, for his wife	1954	id.	id.
21 ○	Pélui	1955	id.	id.
22 ○	Apinda; clearing cut by her husband Amatodja	1956	member of the Papaïston fraction living in Boniville	id.

[Papaïston fraction living in Boniville]

/86 cont./

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
23	○	Alasani; clearing cut by her son Nanga	1955	member of the Papaïston fraction living in Boniville	20 to 25 years
24	○	Apinda; clearing cut by her husband Amatodja	1955	id.	id.
25	△	Baafu (L2, E58), for himself	1955	man of the Lapé lineage living in Boniville. Has worked there as an exception with Bangasé's permission	id.
26	○	Pélui	1954	woman of the Papaïston lineage (Boniville)	id.
27	○	Apinda	1949	id.	id.

/86 cont./

621 Near this clearing is the limit of the lineage lands; beyond
● 613 are the clearings of Loka village (Lapé lineage).

423 Out of the 16 clearings examined here, 14 are occupied by
241 members of the Papaïston group at Boniville, two are held by
[562) temporary users, outsiders to the group. Out of the 16 clearings 13 are held by women and three by men.

Lands of Loka village (Lapé lo). This village, with its annex Lapé Tabiki, is the residence village of the Lapé lo. The Lapé lo,
[614] whose genealogy is completely known and which remains geographically well-grouped, is divided into two fractions without ceasing to constitute a lineage (bee) in the strict sense of the term. Its lands are divided into three zones:

--One on the east bank of the Maroni, behind Loka village.

/87/ --Another on the west bank (Surinam bank) opposite Lapé Tabiki, which we were not able to examine,

--Another upstream from Maripasoula, where part of the members of the lineage possess farming habitations.

[311) The first zone has been almost completely abandoned for about ten years as a consequence of an exceptional pullulation of manioc ants. We have summarized only a few relatively recent clearings there:

No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
31 Δ	Akwadé (L1, E22) for himself	1948	member of the Lapé lo	cut only once on old secondary forest
32 Δ	Akwadé, for himself	1950	id.	cut twice in all by Akwadé

[Lands of Loka Village (Lapé lo)]

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
33	△	Akwadé	1952	id.	cut only once on old secondary forest
34	○	Awènkina (L1, D23); clearing cut by her husband	1949	id.	cut only once on old secondary forest
35	○	Awènkina id.	1936(?)	id.	cut twice in all by Awènkina
36	○	Awènkina; clearing cut by her son	1952	id.	2 years; cut in 1950 on old secondary forest
37	○	Chii (L1, D24); clearing cut by her son Ayaubédé	1952	id.	2 years; cut in 1950 by the same
38	○	Chii; clearing cut by her husband	1950	id.	cut only once on old secondary forest
38a	○	Madu (E41), Chii's daughter	1956	id.	6 years, a part of No. 38 taken up again

[Lands of Loka Village (Lape'lo)]

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
39	○	Chii; clearing cut by her son Ayaubédé	1955	*id.*	?
40	△	Koniman (L1, E31) for himself	1953	*id.*	4 years (cut by himself in 1949)

[562] Out of the eleven clearings examined here, all are farmed by members of the Lapé *lo*; seven are held by men and four by women.

Lands of the Dju lo (Asisi village) in the Ingi Udu locality. The Dju *lo*, whose genealogy is completely known, also constitutes a lineage in the strict sense of the term. It remains well grouped geographically with the exception of a small group established in Boniville close to the grand man.

The lands of the Dju *lo* are distributed in several zones:

--One on the east bank of the Lawa, a little downstream from Asisi, in the Ingi Udu locality;

--One on the Dutch bank opposite Gengé Tabiki;

--One upstream from Maripasoula at the confluence with the Inini, where an important farming habitation is established (Atikati village);

--Finally, several members of the group make their clearings near Kormotibo in the Kuyaku locality, on the lands of the Dipélu II *lo*.

Clearings summarized here all belong to the first zone.

[Lands of the Dju lo (Asisi Village) in the Ingi Udu locality]

/88 cont./

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
41	○	Téodora (Dju, G40); clearing cut by her husband	1955	member of the Dju lo, Asisi fraction	20 years
42	○	Kukusa (Dju, F40); cl. cut by her husband Bernardin	1953	id.	a very long time
43	○	Paana (Dju, G2), cut it herself (has no husband)	1955	id.	6 years /89/
44	○	Tini (Dju, F1); clearing cut by her husband	1954	id.	6 years (?); cut 3 times in all since 1920
45	○	Lènga (Dju, F36); clearing cut by her husband	1955	id.	4 years
46	○	Féni (Dju, G3), /Δ?/for his wife Abugu	1954	id.	7 years
47	○	Tini (Dju, F1); cl. cut by her husband	1955	id.	6 years (?)

[Lands of the Dju lo (Asisi Village) in the Ingi Udu locality]

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No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
48	Tini; clearing cut by her husband	1956	member of the Dju lo, Asisi fraction	3 years
48a	Sara (Dju, E27); cl. cut by her husband	1956	id.	3 years (fraction of clearing 48)
50	Félicia (Dju, G41); clearing cut by her husband Akodo	1954	id.	?
51	Téodora; clearing cut by her husband	1956	id.	2 years
64	Abo † (E8), for himself	1956	id.	2 years
76	Ata (F2); clearing cut by her husband	1956	id.	3 years
77	idem	1955	id.	3 years

Clearings 64, 76, and 77 appear to be enclaves a little within the Awara Bakka finage. Actually, from the very fashion

/89 cont./
621 in which these finages were constituted, one must not expect to
● 613 find clear boundaries.
423 These 14 clearings are thus used exclusively by members
241 of the Dju lineage living in Asisi village. All but two are held
[562] by women. /90/

It is interesting to study the kinship ties of the members of the lineage making their clearings in different zones. One might actually believe that there is a tendency toward individualization of sublineages, and that the descendants of a particular woman tend to hold exclusively the use of such and such a zone.

We see here that such is not the case.

In zone 1 (studied here), make their clearings: Tini (F1), Paana (G2), Féni (G3), very close relatives, but also Lènga (F36), Kukusa (F40), and Félicia (G41), whose relationship with the first-named is as distant as possible within the lineage: Félicia and Paana for example are relatives in the 12th degree.

The same thing is observed in other zones, as we shall see in the study of farming habitations.

621 Lands of the Awara Bakka lo (Asisi village). The finage of the
613 Awara Bakka lo is particularly interesting to study, for this lo
614 has a more complex structure. Study of the genealogy shows the
423 existence of three distinct fractions, which we have designated respectively as Aw.B.1, Aw.B.2, Aw.B.3. The Aw.B.1 and 2 fractions consider themselves as the same lineage in the strict sense ([illegible]). On the contrary, fraction 3 can be considered as a separate lineage from the point of view of legal responsibility. Moreover, the members of the small Afi lineage, living with the Awara Bakka, also constitute a separate unit from the legal point of view. It is important to study whether that carries over into their territorial implantation.

[Lands of The Awara Bakka lo (Asisi Village)]

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We were not able to carry this study out exhaustively because the great mass of lands cultivated by the Awara Bakka are situated on the Surinam bank. The clearings summarized here are grouped in a zone called Ingi Udu; they are served by two landing places or dégrads, borrowed exclusively by the Awara Bakka.

No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
61 ○	Kyéti (Aw.B.1, E30); cl. cut by her brother Agibidon	1954	member of the Awara Bakka lo, 1st fraction	cut on old secondary forest
62 ○	Mani (Afi lineage); clearing cut by her husband Galmo	1956	member of the Afi lineage, living in Asisi	2 years
63 ○	Kyéti; clearing cut by her brother Agibidon	1956	Awara Bakka, 1st fraction, Asisi village	2 years; cut 4 times in all, the 1st about 1949 /91/
65 ○	Akanté (Aw.B.3); clearing cut by her husband Poopu	1956	id. 3rd fraction	2 years

[Lands of the Awara Bakka lo (Asisi Village)]

/91 cont./

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No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
66 ○	Kyẽti; clearing cut by her husband Sosoman	1954	id. 1st fraction	2 years
67 ○	Lébimichi (Aw. B. 1. F27); clearing cut by her husband Abagon	1956	id. 1st fraction	4 years
68 ○	Anẽta (Aw. B. 3); clearing cut by her son-in-law Kẽwẽnu	1956	id. 3rd fraction	4 years
69 ○	Agyasu (Aw. B. 1, F38); clearing cut by her brother Baliki	1956	Awara Bakka, 1st fraction, Asisi vge.	4 years
70 ○	Emma (Aw. B. 2); clearing cut by her son Akodo	?	id. 2nd fraction	4 years
71 ○	Irma (Aw. B. 1, E37); clearing cut by her husband Adiiso	1956	id. 1st fraction	cut on old secondary forest

[Lands of the Awara Bakka lo (Asisi Village)]

/91 cont./

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
72	○	Emma; cl. cut by herself	1955	id. 2nd fraction	3 years
73	○	Lébimichi; clearing cut by her husband Abagon	1955	id. 1st fraction	3 years
74	○	Kilina (Aw.B.3, E71); cl. cut by her husband Amèmbě	1956	id. 4th fraction	4 years /92/
75	○	Namu (Aw.B.1, E48); cl. cut by her husband Koniman	1956	id. 1st fraction	4 years
78	△	Lawa (Aw.B.1, F43); for his fiancée Kula (Asisi-Dju)	1956	id. 1st fraction	?
79	○	Béma (Aw.B.3, E73); cl. cut by her husband Maïna	1956	id. 4th fraction	2 years

6:Hurault--133 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

[Lands of The Awara Bakka lo (Asisi Village)]

/92 cont./

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
80	○	Kakyé (Aw.B.1, E19)	1956	id. 1st fraction	4 years
81	△	Antonu (Aw.B.1, E47); for himself	1952	1st fraction	?
82	△	Adam (Afi lineage, c7); for his wife Dachini (Asisi-Dju)	1954	member of the Afi lineage living in Asisi	?
83	○	Titi (Aw.B.1, E16); cl. cut by her son Dopia	1954	member of the Awara Bakka lo, 1st fraction, Asisi village	
84	○	Noémi (Aw.B.1, F51); cl. cut by her husband	1955	id. 1st fraction	2 years
85	○	Summa (Aw.B.3, F81); clearing cut by herself	1956	id. 3rd fraction	3 years
86	○	Léna (Aw.B.1, F52); clearing cut by her son	1956	id. 1st fraction	3 years

[Lands of the Awara Bakka lo (Asisi Village)]

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/93 cont./

No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
87	○	Noémi; clearing cut by herself (having become a widow)	1956	id. 1st fraction	3 years /93/
88	○	Titi; clearing cut by herself	1955	id. 1st fraction	3 years
89	○	Amélia (Aw.B.1. F19); clearing cut by her husband Sindu	1959	id. 1st fraction	4 years
90	○	Titi; cl. cut by her son Dopia	1954	id. 1st fraction	5 years

[562] Of the 27 clearings examined, only two /sic/ are held by men, 26 /sic/ by women.

19 are allotted to members of the 1st fraction;
2 " " to a member of the 2nd fraction;
2 " " to members of the 3rd fraction;
4 " " to members of the Afi lineage.

Thus one can deduce from this study that there is no tendency toward the making up of separate finages by the various fractions of the Awara Bakka lo. The members of the Afi lineage living in their midst have no tendency to group their clearings, either.

In fact, the inhabitants of a village, even issuing from different lineages, possess joint rights over the lands.

/93 cont./

621 Lands of the Asisi fraction of the Dipélu II lo, in the Tapo
● 613 locality. The fraction of the Dipélu II lo which has been settled
423 in Asisi for some 30 years and which remains subject to the
241 authority of the head of the lo living in Kormotibo, groups its
clearings in a zone which has been allotted to it in the Tapo
locality.

No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
91	○	Chichiti (G22); clearing cut by her husband Obino	1954	member of the Dipélu II fraction established in Asisi	2 years
92	○	Lawenchi	1951	id.	cleared off for the 1st time
93	△	Aténi (G20), for himself	1953	id.	id. /94/
94	△	Aténi (G20), for himself	1956	id.	id.
95	○	Kaala (G28); clearing cut by her husband Tamu	1954	id.	id.
96	○	Kaala	1951	id.	id.
97	○	Kiboya (G31); clearing cut by her husband Simon	1954	id.	3 years

[lands of the Asisi fraction of The Dipélu II 10]

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No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
98 △	Kopo (G32), for himself	1954	id.	cleared off for the 1st time
99 ○	Tama (G29); clearing cut by her husband Asékéyé	1954	id.	?
99a	Sésèy † (F38); clearing cut by her husband Mato	1949	id.	cleared off for the 1st time
100 ○	Tyoko (G30); clearing cut by her husband Dodo	1954	id.	2 years
101 ○	Tama; clearing cut by her husband Asékéyé	1953	id.	2 years
102 ○	Chichiti (G22); clearing cut by her husband Obino	1953	id.	cleared off for the 1st time
103 ○	Sésèy † (F38); clearing cut by her husband Mato	1951	id.	3 years

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621 ● 613 423 241 Out of 14 clearings examined here, all without exception are occupied by the members of the Dipélu II fraction in Asisi. This fraction is geographically separated from the other lineages of Asisi village, and has formed a separate *finage*; that has to do [578] with its relatively high effective force and the good relations among its members (the Afi lineage, with an analogous force but divided by disagreements, has not succeeded in forming a separate *finage*).

[562) Of 14 clearings, 13 are held by women and one by a man /*sic*/.

Study of several clearings of Papaïston village. The part of the Papaïston *finage* situated on the French bank had been abandoned for several years because of an abnormal pullulation of manioc [311} ants. In 1956-57 all the inhabitants of the village were making their clearings on the Surinam bank.

Only several clearings going back to the years 1947-50 could be identified.

No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
111 ○	Efa (Pl, D4)	1946	member of the Papaïston *lo*	cleared for the 1st time on old secondary forest
112 ○	Wilèlmina (P1, F1); clearing cut by her husband Bésu	1947	*id.*	*id.*
113 ○	Oben (P1, E13)	1950	*id.*	*id.*

[Papaïston Village]

/95 cont./

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No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
114 ○	Gou (P1, F8); clearing cut by her husband Akwali		id.	id.
115 ○	Puti (P2, F71); clearing cut by her husband Maïpa	1951	id.	cleared off for the 1st time on old secondary forest
116 ○	Héléna (P1, F2); clearing cut by her husband Baliki	1951	id.	id.

[562] These six clearings are held by women of the Papaïston lineage, in accordance with the residence principle of the Refugee Blacks.

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/96/ The Social System Illuminated by the Study of Implantation on the Soil

128 Study of the clearings in the neighborhood of the farming villages gives exact information about the structure of the kin groups which cannot be obtained by direct interrogation.

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[271]
--Transmission of rights over land within the lineage fraction having the same residence constitutes an imprescriptible legal principle, to which one refers as the conclusive argument to settle every dispute;

/96 cont./

423 613 621 --The principle of matrilocal grouping is effectively applied in nearly all cases. The matrilineages have almost all formed, according to this principle, separate finages, on which their rights are well established; most of these lands appear to be of old formation;

423 613 621 571 --The lineage fractions which have separated themselves geographically from their original grouping have formed finages over which their members exercise exclusive rights. For example, out of the lands of the Dipélu II fraction settled in Asisi not a single case is reported of use by members of the main fraction of the lineage living in Kormotibo;

--The inhabitants of a village subject to one authority possess collective rights over the lands of that village and form a de facto community, even if they belong to different lineages. We have found two characteristic examples of this, Boniville and Asisi-Awara Bakka; by coming to live in a village and subjecting oneself to the authority of the head, one enters ipso facto into this community.

This custom is in contradiction with the principle of the exclusive rights of the lineage over the soil, but the contradiction is more apparent than real; it makes possible the integration, into a collectivity, of detached persons and small fractions incapable of forming a separate village.

The actual situation thus created is not at all permanent. If a lineage fraction wishes to separate itself either as a consequence of a disagreement or simply because its numbers have grown sufficiently, it always has the right to do so.

The fundamental principles of the basic rights of the Boni can thus be summarized thus:

"Rights over the soil are joint within the fraction of a lineage whose members live in the same village and are subject to the same authority; any scission of a lineage which has to do with the residence village entails a scission of rights over lands. The

/96 cont./

423 emigrating fraction possesses exclusive rights over the /agricultural/ land /terroir/ it forms. But it does not lose, at least in 613 621 principle, its rights over its original land /terroir/."

571 The study of finages gives us still more important information concerning the exercising of rights of use: 241

423 /97/ Of 100 clearings examined, 81 follow the normal process according to which the woman has her clearing made on the land of her lineage (1). Of these 81 clearings, 14 had been made under conditions not made clear, 48 had been cut by the husband, 14 by a near relative (son, brother, exceptionally brother or son-in-law), five by the woman herself. 613 621

In only five cases it is, on the contrary, the man who brings his wife onto his lineage's land.

A little more frequent is the case of a man cutting a clearing for himself on his lineage's land.

Finally, the case in which, for reasons of convenience, a member of a lineage asks to work temporarily on the land of another lineage is met twice. Thus this is an extremely unusual practice.

182 Influence of the geographical environment on the social structure.

171 These observations are to be compared with the ones that can be (177) made about the Oayana Indians and the Indians of Guiana in general, living near the Refugee Blacks, in the same geographical environment and almost in the same way (let us recall that the Refugee Blacks borrowed the whole of their material culture from the Indians).

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1. For the joint sector of Boniville, the inhabitants of the village were considered as users of rights without distinction of lineage.

Rucuyen SR12
Oyana

/97 cont./

R 105 [361] The Oayana Indians are half nomadic, moving their villages every ten years on the average. They have neither a permanent center of peopling, a place of worship, nor a cemetery; they do not have ancestor worship, at least no concept involving a precise and permanent tie between the living, the dead, and the land.

R 114 182 [136] This state of things has been attributed by several authors to the geographical environment and especially to the ravages of the manioc ant; the manioc ant, swarming particularly in formerly cultivated zones, makes nomadism advantageous. From this would have resulted a social structure and a mode of living adapted to these special conditions.

B 114 769 182 The example of the Refugee Blacks shows conspicuously that these considerations, in spite of their undeniable interest, do not constitute an explanation of general scope; for the Refugee Blacks, the only social ties conceivable flow from ancestor worship; above all the imperatives of material life the individual feels as a primordial duty the act of attaching himself to the village of his ancestors, to the land they cleared off and which remains under their protection.

B 182 241 423 ● 613 The difficulties inherent in the geographical environment have been easily surmounted or gotten around. Rather than vast zones with one single holder, each lineage divided its finage into sectors distant from one another. If these zones become temporarily unusable, the Boni go to create farming habitations on the upper course of the river, without ceasing because of this to reside habitually in the village of their ancestors; there results from this no other constraint but losing two weeks each year in going and coming on the river.

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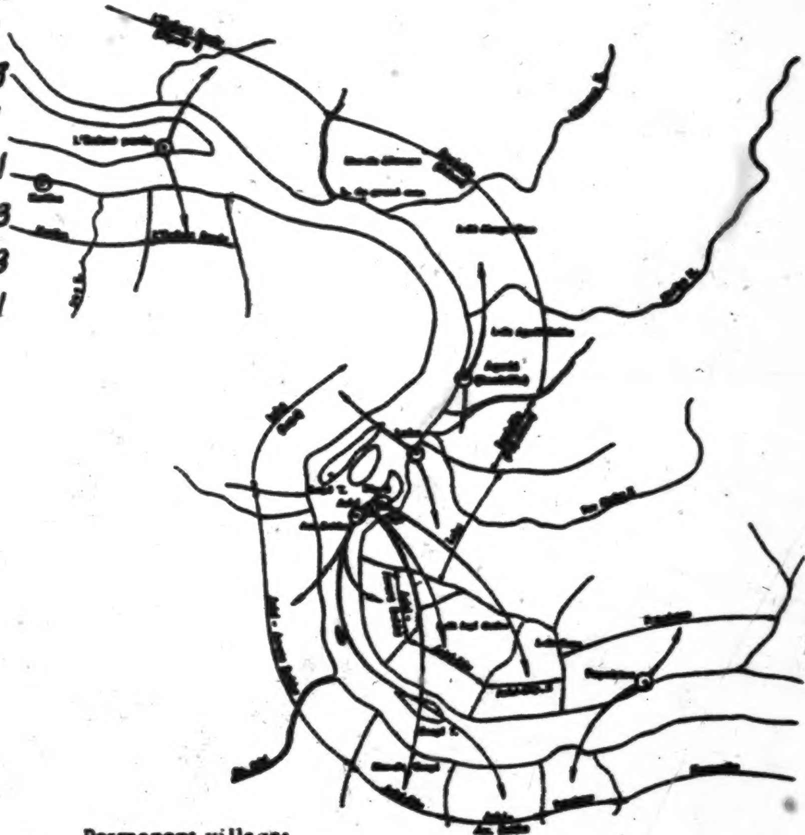
Distribution of Lands in the Neighborhood of the Principal Boni Villages



⊙ Permanent villages
___ Boundary lines

Scale: [illegible]

/K. or Cr. = Creek,
Lieu-dit = locality,
h. du grand man = habitation of the grand man,
Zone inondable = floodable zone./

Fig. 16.

/99/

182 That this system is perfectly workable has been sufficiently
161 241 demonstrated by the regular expansion for two centuries of the
423 tribes of Refugee Blacks and by the good functioning of their
613 institutions.

Thus the basic instability of the Indians of Guiana cannot
182 be attributed to the influence of the geographical environment
alone. It comes essentially from social and psychological factors.

/100/ STUDY OF FARMING HABITATIONS

128 We are now going to study the functioning of the farming habitations under the same aspects:

--Structure (composition of each one, kinship ties);

--Territorial implantation: nature and extent of rights over the land;

--Functioning.

241 Not all Boni have a farming habitation; about two-thirds
62 of them are satisfied with the lands they occupy near the residence
184 villages.

241 The farming habitations we are going to study more es-
621 pecially and which are situated between the mouth of the Inini
361 and Simayé Falls to the south, group about a hundred persons be-
162 longing to the Dju, Lapé, Awara Bakka, and Papaïston lineages.
613 Another group of farming habitations situated a little south of
Kormotibo, which we shall study briefly and only so far as their composition is concerned, bring together about 60 persons. Finally, other very dispersed farming habitations exist, belonging principally to the Kotika lineage, some in the Maripasoula region, others in the Abattis-Kotika Falls /region/.

241 On the whole, the Boni farming habitations cannot be com-
184 pared either as to importance or stability with the Djuka farming
62 villages which are placed at intervals on the middle course of the
[361] Maroni, grouping 3,000 to 3,500 persons: this is easy to
[162] understand: the Djuka, continually short of land, are obliged,

/100 cont./
241 under pain of losing their rights, to occupy the soil to the maxi-
62 mum. Besides, settled very far from their residence villages,
[184) they are led to creating more lasting establishments.

Among the Boni, farming habitations do not amount to much, built carelessly (to designate them one says kãpu (camp), and the groups who work there are not very stable.

423 However, the principles of establishment and functioning
241 [182] of farming habitations are exactly the same for the two tribes
[184] and result on the whole from the customary laws which, among
the Refugee Blacks, govern the possession of land:

[425) 1) When a man cuts a clearing in a zone which has never
had any human establishment, he creates at the same time as a
● [613) right of use for himself an imprescriptible real right for his
lineage (bɛɛ) or more precisely for the fraction of the lineage
living in the same village and subject to the same authority;

[428] 2) This right is joint; at the death of an individual, anyone
of that fraction of his lineage may occupy the lands he used to
[613] cultivate habitually. If there is a dispute, it must be settled
within the framework of the lineage; /101/ /Fig. 17 appears
here/ /102/

3) The extent of the zone over which this right is exercised is limited only by the zones over which other rights are exercised.

We have seen what mode of occupation of the soil resulted from these laws in the neighborhood of the "great villages." Here the distribution of lands among the farming habitations follows practically the same laws, whose effects are less rigorous, considering the very low density of occupation of the soil.

425 1) It is taken for granted that an isolated establishment
in a quasi-deserted zone does not create lasting rights. If it
[361] happens to disappear, anybody may come to settle there after
ascertaining from the first occupant that he no longer needs the
place (such is the case with the very scattered establishments
south of Simayẽ Falls up to Indian country; they do not create
real territorial rights for the benefit of any lineage whatever.

/102 cont./

425 2) On the contrary, from the time that occupation of a
region becomes habitual, even by groups of small numerical im-
portance, people pay attention to the attribution of the lands.
[361] Thus it is assumed that the west bank of the Lawa south of the
[613] Atikati habitation up to Simayé Falls has belonged, since the
end of the last century, to the Lapé lo, which was occupying it
in 1957 by the Paako, Samo, Pwen, Saléni, and Makélé habita-
tions.

423 3) Within each zone the rights remain joint and anyone of
613 the same lo may come to settle there. Thus the farming habita-
241 tions move around, but within a definite sector. Thus for example
361 Kwaku (Lapé) abandoned in 1954 his habitation situated in the
lands of the Lapé lineage (it was too damp in the rainy season,
he prefers to content himself with the lands of the "great village").
He does not lose his rights because of this. If he decides eventual-
ly to come back, he will settle anywhere in the zone attributed
to the Lapé lo.

182 It goes without saying that if the population were more
161 dense, such a principle would be difficult to apply and that serious
241 disputes would arise. But this mode of occupation of the soil is
361 perfectly suitable, in their present situation, for the tribes of the
425 Refugee Blacks, for it allows them to practice, with a minimum
of friction, the seminomadism which the geographical environ-
ment and especially the manioc ant impose.

241 The zones occupied by the farming habitations rarely have
361 a single holder: most often they are divided into separate sectors
423 on different parts of the river.

Actually, as we have seen around the "great villages,"
504 each lineage possesses a certain number of "dégrads," or landing
613 places, from which paths radiate. Each "dégrad" is rigorously
361 reserved for the members of a lineage. The occupants of a
423 farming village radiate from around their landing place until they

361
504 /102 cont./
613 meet the clearings of the people of another lineage; a de facto
423 boundary is thus created, which is henceforth respected.

621 On the other hand, several farming villages of one lineage
241 may have their clearings totally intriqués /entangled/ (this is
613 the case, for example, with the ones of the Antonu and Adiiso
423 habitations). This conforms to the rule of joint possession of the
land within the lineage.

621 Organization. The group in a farming habitation is brought to-
241 gether by mutual affinities, and has no hierarchy other than that
602 which springs from kinship ties: authority of the mother over her
592 daughters; authority of the "uncles" over the "nephews."
/103/ The grouping which conforms most to the matrilineal structure of the Refugee Blacks is made up of an old woman, her unmarried sons, her daughters and her daughters' daughters, their husbands coming to help at the time of the clearings but not belonging to the group. Often it is this old woman who directs the habitation, but often also it is an old uncle, her classificatory brother, who has worked with her for a long time. Sometimes this old woman has come to live with her daughters on the habitation founded by her husband.

103 Some of the habitations bear men's names, others women's
423 names. The name which prevails may be completely at variance
592 with the real rights exercised over the land (Ex.: name of Adiiso
given to the habitation of his wife where Adiiso has no right at
[613] all). That has no great importance in the eyes of the Refugee
Blacks, the only important thing being collective possession of
the land by the lineage.

621 For groups which are relatively numerous and brought to-
241 gether more by mutual affinities than by kinship ties, the mini-
622 mum of authority necessary for good feeling and the organization
of the work is brought to bear by the founder. For example,

/103 cont. /

621 Atikati exercised authority by this right over the disparate group
622 around him, and at his death he bequeathed this function to his
241 sister Adyidya.

Likewise Antonu exerts undisputed authority over three
[613] groups of the Awara Bakka lo settled at the mouth of the Inini, for it was he who took the initiative of creating an establishment at this place. If there is any dispute, it is he who will defend the rights of the Awara Bakka lineage.

622 The authority exercised by the founder of the farming habitation is not brought to bear in material living, which remains subject to the strictly individualistic principles of the Refugee Blacks. He cannot require anyone to help him make his clearings or do any work whatever on his behalf.

361 Farming Habitations of the Awara Bakka lo
241 (Antonu, Adiiso, Kakyɛ)
613 in the Neighborhood of the Confluence with the Inini

621 These habitations work soil whose first user was Antonu, of
241 the Awara Bakka lo (fraction 1), which is regarded as belonging
[613] to that lineage. Antonu settled there in 1945 (he was finding that
[423] there were too many people farming the lands near Asisi).

To insure his rights, Antonu put on his land two groupings
621 whose situations are very different:
241 1) In his own habitation he installed his wife Asakundu, and
592 around her he made up the work group commonest among the
423 Refugee Blacks: group formed by the mother, her sons and
[476] daughters, the daughters' husbands coming to help at the time of the /104/ clearings. But it is important to note that this group has no right at all over the land: if Antonu and his wife ever separate, the wife's group will leave the habitation.

/104 cont./

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		1956	1955
○	Angisa	1 clearing with her husband Ernest (who cut 2 other clearings in other sectors because he has 2 other wives)	1 clearing with Antonu
Δ	Sindu	1 clearing for Amélia, his wife, 1 clearing for himself	id. (2 clearings)
Δ	Anato	en mission; cut no clearing; his wife weeded a two-year-old clearing herself	1 clearing for his mother (had made in addition a /105/ clearing in Asisi for his wife on her family's lands)
Δ	Maliki	same case	nothing for his mother, 1 clearing for his wife in another habitation

Study of the clearings of the Antonu habitation:

1) West Bank:

[423]
[613]

No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
31	Δ	Antonu, for himself	1952	member of the Awara Bakka lo, founder of the habitation	2 years (cut in 1950 for the 1st time on primary forest)

/108 cont./

621 592 241 [423] [613] [602] [476] *Structure of the Adiiso habitation.* This habitation actually belongs to Irma, Adiiso's wife, of the Awara-Bakka (1) lineage (E37), who was settled there by Antonu whose classificatory sister she is.

Working with Irma, disregarding children, are:

--Her husband Adiiso (Dju, F37);

--Her daughter Chitaïna (Aw.B.1, F43), married to Déési (L1, F45);

--Her son Lawa, unmarried;

--Her son Maïna, married.

Maïna's wife Mbéma, who has no other habitation, has her clearing made there, but she has no hut in her own right and is not a member of the group.

Activity of the habitation in 1955-56:

	1956	1955
Irma	2 clearings (both by Adiiso, who cut a 3rd in Asisi for his other wife)	1 clearing cut by her son Maïna, Adiiso being on a trip
Chitaïna	1 clearing cut by Lawa, her brother, her husband being *en mission*.	1 clearing cut by her husband Déési /109/
Maïna	1 clearing for his wife Mbéma	Maïna *en mission* had not been able to cut for his wife. She had weeded a two-year-old clearing with Chitaïna and Irma

/Fig. 18 appears here./ /110/

/facing p. 108/

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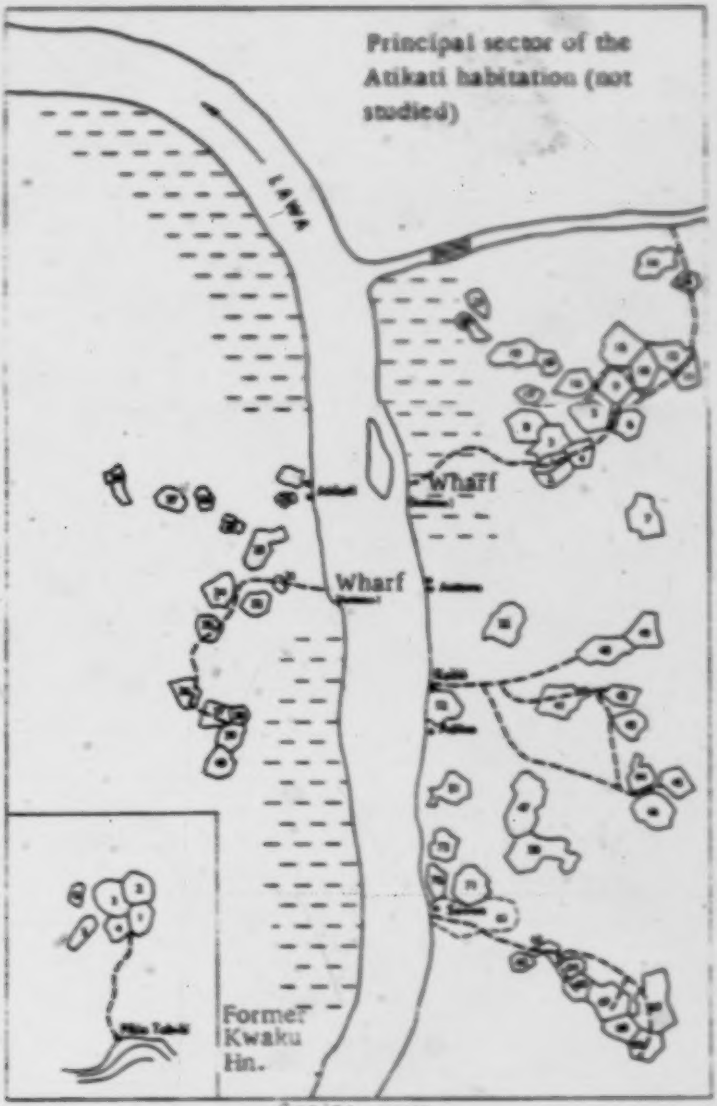
Distribution of Lands among the Lineages in the Neighborhood of the Confluence with the Inini


Principal sector of the Atikati habitation (not studied)
LAWA
Wharf
Wharf
Former Kwaku Hn.

Scale: 1/20000

After photographs by the 003/200 IGN mission, taken in October, 1956

• farming habitation
▨ floodable zone
○ clearings studied in January, 1957

Fig. 18.

/110 cont./

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Structure of the Kakyé habitation. This habitation is directed by Kakyé (Aw.B.1. E18), a widow for a long time and not remarried, working with her children.

Working with her are:

--Amélia (Aw.B.1. F19), her daughter;
--Papakay (Aw.B.1, F23), her son;
--Akamina (Aw.B.1. F24), her daughter;
--Lébimichi (Aw.B.1, F27), daughter of Yochi † sister of Kakyé.

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[613]

Listing of several clearings of the Adiiso and Kakyé habitations. These clearings are totally mixed with each others' and with those of the [illegible] habitation, which is normal since these latter all belong to the Awara Bakka lineage.

No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
11	△	Bésu (Aw.B.1. F17), for himself	1954	Kakyé's son (does not work there habitually)	cut for the 1st time
12	○	Amélia; clearing cut by her husband Sindu	1954	Kakyé's daughter	id.
13	○	Lébimichi; clearing cut by her husband Atonion	1954	Kakyé's niece	cut for the 1st time

/111 cont./

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Habitation of the Dju lo in the Neighborhood of the Mouth of the Inini

621 241 [613] [423] [496] Structure of the Atikati habitation (Dju lo). Important habitation founded by Atikati, of the Dju lo, possessing an extended finage fragmented into several blocks on both banks of the Lawa.

This habitation has an abnormal composition, for Atikati worked there with his daughters, which is contrary to custom, and with friends.

622 Atikati directed the village with his old friend Bernardin (K1, D62), † in 1958, who was the son of a man of the Dju lo and had lived among the Dju since childhood.

624 241 613 [622] The basic group of this habitation is made up of people of the Dju lo. Since Atikati's death (1955), his sister Adyidya (Dju, E19) has directed the village.

Members of the Dju lo:

○ Adyidya } both without living children
○ Baawê (Dju, E13) }
△ Loko (Dju, F39)
△ Atikati worked with his daughters and granddaughter:
○ Wilèlmina (P1, F1);
○ Kumata (P1, G1), daughter of Wilèlmina.

To this group were added in 1957:

△ Bernardin (K1, D62), raised with the Dju;
○ Asumé (Dip. I, F2), daughter of △ Bernardin and ○ Mimen †.

[423] Finally, two Kotika women married to Djuka asked for permission to settle there and have their clearings cut there. But they have no right at all over the land:

○ Nèlla (K1, D44);
Maké (K1, E35), her daughter.

/111 cont./

621 591 183 The composition of this village is thus entirely aberrant from the point of view of /112/ custom, and founded entirely upon personal fellow feeling. But the customary rule is none 621 613 423 the less present in the thought of all: the founder being of the Dju lineage, the land belongs to the Dju. The fact, for example, that Bernardin (Kotika) and his daughters (Papaīston) have worked there for a very long time creates no right at all for either lineage.

[591] If dissensions occur in the group, those outside the Dju lineage must leave.

241 621 423 Listing of some clearings of the Atikati habitation (west bank).

No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
23 △	Atikati (Dju, E18) for himself	1952	founder of the habitation	2 years (cut for the 1st time in 1950)
24 ○	Wilèlmina (P1, F1); clearing cut by her husband Bésu	1955	Atikati's daughter, has no rights over the land	cut for the 1st time
25 ○	Wilèlmina; clearing cut by her father Atikati	1951	id.	id.

[Atikati habitation (west bank)]

/112 cont./

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No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
26 △	Sosoman (Dju, E14)	1951	Does not usually work there but has rights over the land as a member of the Dju lineage	cut for the 1st time in 1950, part taken up again in 1955
27 ○	Hélèna (P1, F2); clearing cut by her father Atikati	1955	Atikati's daughter; usually lives at the Sawen habitation; has no rights over the land	6 years; cut for the 1st time in 1949, partially taken up again in 1955
28	Adyidya; clearing cut by her husband Kwami (Djuka)	1949	woman of the Dju lineage	cut for the 1st time

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/113/

Habitations of the Papaïston lo in the Neighborhood of the Mouth of the Inini

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Structure of the Sawen and Agodéba habitations (Papaïston lo).

Habitations occupying an extensive zone, attributed for at least 60 years to the principal Papaïston lineage.

Working with Sawen (P1, E7) are:

--His nieces Héléna (P1, F2) and Emilia (P1, F3);

--His nephew Aguandé (P1, F4).

Working with Agodéba (P1, E1) are:

--His sister (in the classificatory sense) Kamen (P1, E14);

--His niece (in the classificatory sense) Gou (P1, F8).

Moreover, a group is settled there centered on Toïna, Agodéba's wife, representing the last of the Bakabuchi lineage, almost extinct:

△ Toïna, Agodéba's wife;
/△ ✓ Mangoto, Toïna's son;
Apuulobi.

[423] This group has no right over the land and would leave in the case of a break-up of the Agodéba-Toïna household.

Finally, a female friend, Pati (F71), of the almost extinct Papaïston 2 lineage.

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Activity of the Agodéba habitation in 1955-56:

	1956	1955
△ Agodéba	1 clearing for his wife Toïna	id.
○ Kamen	1 clearing cut by her husband Adam who made no other	id.
○ Gou	1 clearing cut by her husband Bêku	id.

/115/

Habitations of the Lapé lo
(Paako, Samo, Chii, Pwen, Saléni)

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[613]
[423] These habitations occupy soil belonging to the Lapé lo since the end of the 19th century.

The Kwaku habitation has been abandoned since 1943, its occupants making their clearings around Loka.

Paako habitation. The Paako habitation is occupied only by two women, Paako (L1, E29) and her daughter Dona, who have their clearings made there by their husbands.

Chii habitation. Chii (L1, D24) directs the habitation where she works with her son Topo, her daughters Yaana, Madu, and Koko. The daughters' husbands come to help at the time of the clearings.

[578] Pwen habitations. As a consequence of dissensions, Pwen (L1, E33) lives all alone in this habitation.

Saléni habitation. It is directed by Saléni, an old woman of the Lapé lo (E25), who works there with her son Tingo, her daughters Kayé and Ananta.

[613] Structure of the Samo habitation called Pikin Tabiki (Lapé lo).
Habitation occupying another portion of the Lapé lo finage.
Several Lapé men and women make their clearings there:
△ Tamu (L1, F32), who brings his wife Kaala (Dip. II) there
△ Fosé, his brother (L1, F33;
○ Mélita, his classificatory aunt (L1, E32);
○ Téké, Mélita's daughter (L1, F44)
○ Akomédi, Paako's daughter (L1, F34).

[183] The husbands of Mélita, Téké, Akomédi come to work at the time of the clearings but are not part of the group.

/115 cont./

621 183 The composition of this village therefore entirely conforms to the custom.

241 621 Activity in 1955-56:

	1956	1955
△ Tamu	nothing (he cut in Lapé for his wife)	1 clearing for his wife
○ Mélita	1 clearing by her husband Kwata (K)	*id.*
○ Téké	1 clearing by Mélita's husband, for her husband Baĩna is *en mission*	1 clearing by her husband /116/
Akomédi	1 clearing by her husband Todo (who cut another one in Asisi for his other wife)	

241 62 423 [613] ● Listing of several clearings of the Samo habitation (Pikin Tabiki) (Lapé *lo*).

No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
1	○ Akomédi; clearing cut by her husband Todo	1956	woman of the Lapé *lo*	cut for the 1st time
2	○ Akomédi *id.*	1955	*id.*	2 years (cut for the 1st time in 1953)

[Samo habitation (PikinTabiki)]

/116 cont./

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
3	○	Mélita; clearing cut by her husband Kwata	1955	id.	2 years (cut for the 1st time in 1952)
4	○	Mélita; cl. cut by her son Déési	1954	id.	3 years (cut for the 1st time in 1948, then in 1953 for the 2nd time
5	○	Téké; cl. cut by her husband Baïna	1951	id.	3 years (cut in 1948 for the 1st time)
6	○	Téké id.	1953	id.	cut for the 1st time

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Farming Habitations downstream from Maripasoula

Several habitations are installed in the Kuyaku locality very fertile region giving high yields of manioc (1).

1. This fertility is explained by the nature of the subsoil (sills of dolerite).

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Ownership of the land: Dipélu II lo (Kormotibe village).
Several habitations side by side:

/116 cont./

621 ○ Nanay (Dip. II) † ; habitation disappeared at her death in
241 1953; /117/
● 613 ○ Béniti (Dju) † in 1955; habitation taken up again by her
423 children and grandchildren: ○ Eliana, △ Doni, ○ Kulina,
○ Maria; ○ Tini (Dju);

○ Kotoïda (Afi lineage) † ;

△ Poopu, established there for a long time. He had abandoned the site in 1948; came back in 1952.

The composition of the groups is as follows:

1) ○ Béniti † (Dju, E5): her daughters Maria, Kulina, and Eliana. Béniti's hut has been taken up again by her grandson Doni whom she brought up.

2) ○ Tini (Dju, F1); habitation grouping Tini, Ata (Dju, F2), and their daughters.

3) ○ Kotoïda † ; habitation grouping Kotoïda († Oct., 1956) (Afi lineage), her brother Kenkina, her husband Empalé, her niece Samabun.

Other habitations:

Ma Efa (Papaïston), settled on Dipélu II lo lands upstream from Kormotibo (French bank) for about 30 years. Ma Efa (P1, D4) worked with her sons.

Gengé Tabiki (Dutch bank, upstream from Asisi village); small habitation founded by ○ Aliki (Dju, E23), with Lènga ○ (Dju, F36) and ○ Diana (Dju, E9).

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Functioning of the Farming Habitations

Structure. Of the 13 farming habitations studied here, 12 have a structure conforming to the residence principle of the Refugee Blacks, implying the grouping of daughters and unmarried sons near the mother; only one has an abnormal structure:

/facing p. 119/

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103
133
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(21)

Grouping of the Members of the Dju Lineage into Sectors and Farming Habitations October 1957

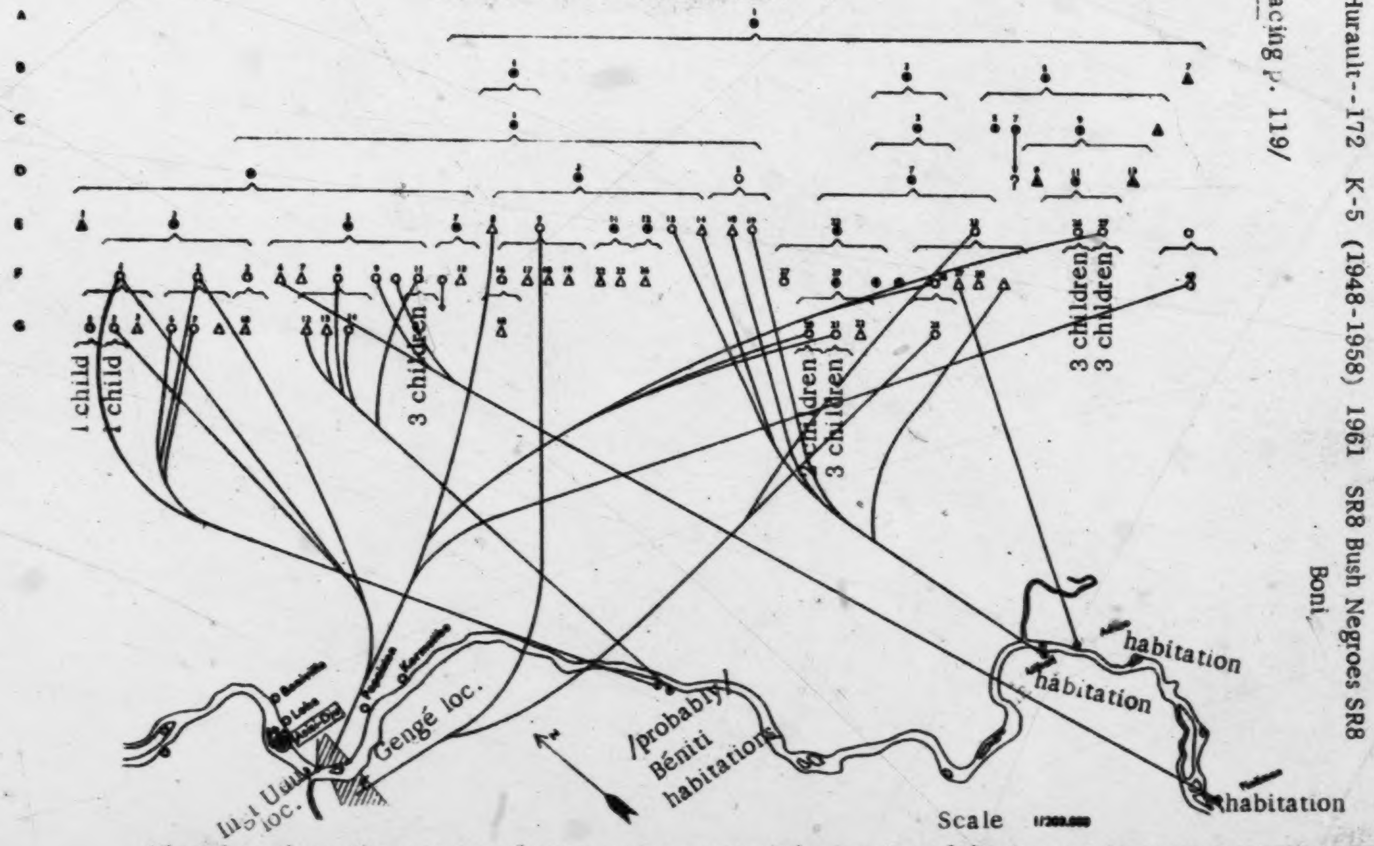
a
b
c
d
e
f
g
1 child
1 child
3 children
3 children
3 children
3 children
3 children
Gengé loc.
/probably/ Béniti habitations
habitation
habitation
habitation
Scale

Fig. 20.

This chart shows the absence of any tendency toward the scission of the lineage into separate fractions.

/119 cont./

361 exhaustion of the lands does not seem to play any part: considering
241 the sparseness of the population, one can either make new
166 clearings out of primary forest or carry out any system of letting
land lie fallow one wishes.

Most changes of location can be attributed to two causes of equal importance:

--The activity of the manioc ants; we have said that since
[136] about 15 years ago the principal soil of the Lapé lo, situated
[613] near Loka village; has had to be totally abandoned as a consequence
of exceptional activity of manioc ants. From this resulted the creation of several farming habitations on the soil of the Lapé lo studied here;

361 --Personal motives, among which comes first of all disagreement
241 among the members of a group. For example ○ Kulina
166 and ○ Bakamaman (Boniville, Dju) made their clearings until
578 1950 with their mother Béniti in her farming village in Kuyaku
locality (to the south of Kormotibo).

In 1950 there was a quarrel. Kulina and Baïkom have made their clearings since that time at the habitation of their father Malobi (Lapé).

[968] It happens especially that upon the death of its founder a farming habitation disappears or changes composition entirely because disagreements arise.

361 Another cause of change of location of farming habitations
241 is change of activity of their occupants. For example, a man
166 grows old, he no longer finds paid work, he creates a habitation
in order to take up fishing (Akwadé's case). When he reaches extreme old age, he abandons his habitation to move close to his relatives (case of Samalobi, first occupant of the lands cultivated nowadays by Antonu village). /Page 120 blank/

/122 cont./

845 Observation at Maripasoula, November 3, 1956. The
[621] wife of Baïna, boatman of the border-fixing mission, gave birth
at Pikin Tabiki, small farming village where she works with her
mother and the latter's husband. Baïna went to be present at
the delivery.

It was very long and dramatic. According to Baïna, an ɔgi sani had entered the child's body, making him stiff and impossible to extract. As a last resort they called a neighbor, T..., known for having a good gita. He called his gadu who revealed an efficacious remedy, since after the body of the sick woman was bathed with the prescribed leaves, the delivery ended successfully.

846 Since we were leaving on our trip, it remained to find
[515] someone to take his place in fulfilling one of the husband's duties:
cutting the supply of wood for heating the water necessary for
the hot douches /showers?/ the mother was going to be given
several times a day for about three months. He made an agree-
[465] ment for that with Kwata, his mother-in-law's husband, to whom
he will pay about 1,000 francs.

851 Presentation of the child. On the eighth day the maternal grand-
613 mother (or great-grandmother if she is still living) takes the child
[603] and gives it to another ancestress of the same lineage, stationed
in front of the house. The latter presents it to the family. Then
[769] the head of the lineage, without taking the child, goes to the
[778] fraga tiki to make an offering of tafia, asking the ancestors to
[782] protect it.

For example, for the birth of A... (Lapé Tabiki village), son of ○ Yundu (L2, G60), it was Asakundu, grandmother of Yundu and great-grandmother of the child, who came to take him in the house and gave him over to her sister Térésa (L2, E57) to present him to the family (see genealogical table of the Lapé lineage, fraction 2).

/125 cont./

553 Transmission of names. It seems that in former times children
● 613 were by preference given the name of one of their classificatory
[178] uncles in the father's lineage. This custom is still clearly
observable, but its practice is not general. In fact, out of about
[162] 670 persons counted in the villages on the French bank, including
about 250 children younger than 14 years, there are only 64,
or less than 25 per cent who bear the name of an adult living
or dead. These 64 cases are divided thus:

	Mother's Lineage	Father's Lineage	Other Lineages
Name taken from among the child's classificatory brothers and sisters.	0	3	
Name taken from among the child's classificatory uncles and aunts.	3	37	11
Name taken from among the child's "grandfathers" and "grandmothers."	2	8	

Of these 64 names, 44 /sic/ are taken from the father's lineage, only five from the mother's.

[551] This table is only good for a simple indication. In order to go farther it would have been necessary to study separately the name given by the father and that given by the mother, which we could not do (let us recall that 75 per cent of the individuals are designated by a single name; either the father and mother agreed on the same name, or one of the two names fell into disuse after the child's early years.

/126/

553 Let us remember simply that there is a clear tendency to choose the name from the paternal relatives of the child (1).

[171] 1. It is a general rule among the
populations of Black Africa from
whom the Refugee Blacks borrowed
their main cultural traits, the
patrilineal Fon and Yoruba as well
as the matrilineal and patrilocal
Agni and Ashanti. The persistence
[178] of this custom among the Refugee
Blacks tends to strengthen the
patrilineal and patrilocal tendencies
which were persisting among them
at the time when their institutions
were developing.

551 Apparently they avoid giving the name of a very old person or one recently deceased.

553 In this transmission of the name there does not seem to be anything other than a mark of affection toward a relative. No bond is created between the child and the adult whose name he bears. Obviously there is nothing in the beliefs of the Refugee Blacks which requires the perpetuation of names and their transmission from the dead to the living.

[613] When they wish to give one of their children the name of a person of another lineage, they must ask permission of this person, who does not necessarily grant it (he may fear that his name might thus be borne later by a thief or a ne'er-do-well).

If he does give his permission it does not, strictly speaking, involve any payment, but he may be offered a small gift.

[613] There is no need of any authorization to take a name borne by a person of the lineage of the child's mother or father.

6:Hurault--189 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

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/129 cont./

Raised by:	Male Sex			Female Sex		
	born before 1936	from 1936 to 1949	average	born before 1936	from 1936 to 1949	average
Mother	together } 50%	42% } 55%	52.5%	together } 69%	56% } 68%	68.5%
Maternal grandmother		13%			12%	
A woman of the maternal lineage . . .	8%	12%	10%	13%	15%	14%
A man of the maternal lineage . . .	9%	4%	6.5%	2%	3%	2.5%
Father	27%	18%	22.5%	13%	6%	9.5%
Father's mother . . .	2%	3%	2.5%	0%	3%	1.5%
A person of the paternal lineage . .	1%	3%	2%	1%	3%	2%
An outsider to both lineages	2%	4%	3%	1%	3%	2%

6:Hurault--190 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

/130/

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Raised by

Table I.- Men born before 1936

Mother	Maternal Grand-mother	A Woman of the Mother's Lineage	A Man of the Mother's Lineage	Father	Father's Mother	A Person of the Father's Lineage	An Outsider to Both Lineages
ǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀ ǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀ ǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀ	ǀǀǀ	ǀǀǀǀǀǀǀ	ǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀ	ǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀ ǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀ^1	ǀǀ	ǀ	ǀǀ
41/88	3/88	7/88	8/88	24/88	2/88	1/88	2/88
47 %	3 %	8 %	9 %	27 %	2 %	1 %	2 %

together 50%(2)

Table II. -Boys born from 1936 to 1949 inclusive

Mother	Maternal Grand-mother	A Woman of the Mother's Lineage	A Man of the Mother's Lineage	Father	Father's Mother	A Person of the Father's Lineage	An Outsider to Both Lineages
ǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀ ǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀ ǀǀǀ	ǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀ	ǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀ	ǀǀǀ	ǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀ	ǀǀ	ǀǀ	ǀǀǀ
31/73	10/73	9/73	3/73	13/73	2/73	2/73	3/73
42 %	13 %	12 %	4 %	16 %	3 %	3%	4 %

Table III. - Women born before 1936

Mother	Maternal Grand-mother	A Woman of the Mother's Lineage	A Man of the Mother's Lineage	Father	Father's Mother	A Person of the Father's Lineage	An Outsider to Both Lineages
ǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀ ǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀ ǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀ ǀ	ǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀ	ǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀ	ǀǀ	ǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀ		ǀ	ǀ
46/78	8/78	10/78	2/27	10/78	0	1/78	1/78
59 %	10 %	13 %	3 %	13 %		1 %	1 %

together 69%(2)

Table IV. - Girls born from 1936 to 1949 inclusive

Mother	Maternal Grand-mother	A Woman of the Mother's Lineage	A Man of the Mother's Lineage	Father	Father's Mother	A Person of the Father's Lineage	An Outsider to Both Lineages
ǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀ ǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀ ǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀ	ǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀ	ǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀǀ	ǀǀ	ǀǀǀǀ	ǀǀ	ǀǀ	ǀǀ
40/72	9/72	11/73	2/73	4/72	2/72	2/73	2/72
56 %	12 %	15 %	3 %	6 %	3 %	3 %	3 %

(1) The symbol 0 represents individuals who, raised outside their lineage, did not come back to it when their education was finished.

[591] (2) Since the mother and grandmother live together most often, informants may confuse them when it is a question of persons whose education has been finished for a long time.

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429 Recapitulation:
858 70% of the boys
● 613 85% of the girls are raised in the mother's lineage

27% of the boys
13% of the girls are raised in the father's lineage

3% of the boys
2% of the girls are raised by outsiders to both lineages.

429 858 562 It is important, moreover, to emphasize in what proportion the children are brought up by women or men:

67% of the boys
86% of the girls are raised by women

33% of the boys
12% of the girls are raised by men.

429 562 571 [191] This preponderant role of women in the education of the children is one of the fundamental aspects of the social structure of the Refugee Blacks. In fact, women consider that the children belong to them, and if they give some to men to bring up, it is only as many as they wish to. This conception which is found to be widespread among the Blacks of America, in the West Indies as in Guiana, explains, much more than the frequency of divorces, the impossibility for them to make up patrilineages in the absence of coercion exerted upon the women.

429 Several important pieces of information may still be drawn from these tables:

/131 cont./

429 178 1) They show the continuity and vitality of the custom of the Refugee Blacks. The proportion of boys and girls brought up by the mother, the paternal grandmother, the father, etc. is noticeably constant from one generation to the other. There is no tendency for the proportion of children raised by the father to increase; it even seems to decrease, which may be related to the increasing instability of marriages. In fact, in spite of European influences, no evolution is observed toward patrilineal structures among the Refugee Blacks.

429 613 591 2) The fact that part of the children are raised outside of their own lineage has few consequences for the unity of the group; for most of them, when their education is finished, come to settle down in one of the villages belonging to their lineage.

Of 88 men born before 1936, 28 were raised outside their lineage; 21 of them came back to it; only seven, or less than 8 per cent, settled down in other lineages.

Of 78 women born before 1936, 12 were raised outside their lineage, of whom only four, or 5 per cent, settled permanently outside their group.

868 462 Education of children. If the education of girls does not necessitate a difficult apprenticeship, it is not the same for boys; the sum of knowledge that /132/ a Refugee Black must possess to carry out effectively the techniques of his group is considerable. In particular, he must:

--Know more than 200 kinds of trees with their uses, the way to fell them, the way to work their wood;

--Be capable of constructing boats of at least 10 kegs (1,000 kilograms of load). This technique alone requires several years of apprenticeship;

--Acquire sufficient knowledge of carpenter work to build his house and that of his wife;

--Learn how to handle boats on the river and the techniques of transport boating.

/134 cont./

429 The guardian continues to have a certain power all his life over his ward become adult. He is the conciliator to whom one applies first if there is any complaint about his ward.

This power of conciliation is bequeathed by the guardian at his death, as is the guardianship itself.

593 Role of the mother. For the Refugee Blacks, the sacred tie is
613 pre-eminently the one which attaches them to their mother and
152 through her to the ancestors of the lineage. It is manifested with respect to the mother by a delicate and deep feeling of affection which applies also, less directly, to the close relatives on the maternal side and to all the members of the lineage. It is not
[601] idly that within the lineage the men call one another brothers; the obligations /135/ they have toward one another are accepted by all with joy, and each tries his best to fulfill them, for he transposes to them the sentiment of love which he feels toward his mother.

114 The term matriarchy has often been used wrongly with re-
562 gard to the Refugee Blacks, letting people believe that the woman
593 exercises authority there; this is an error, the woman does not enter their councils and from a political point of view does not exist in their eyes; the woman has influence and authority only as mother, and over her own children.

593 The mother's authority remains very great over her sons after they have become men; none of them will undertake an important enterprise or leave for a long trip without consulting his mother; if she is absolutely opposed to the project, he will scarcely dare go on with it. We heard in December, 1952 a man of 45, M...., serious and intelligent, say to us with regret: "I would certainly go with you as far as Cayenne, but my mother does not wish it."

/137 cont./

831 necessary food) than by a sentimental motive. It is very rare to meet among them the appearance of sincere and lasting love for a woman; that is sometimes seen, but it is the exception.

562 It is not enough to say that they have few emotional feelings with respect to women. In the conversations heard in the evening around the campfires a deep contempt is expressed on this subject; they even speak of the Boni women as of a foreign and almost enemy nation; they consider them besides as half irresponsible. This attitude shows through in the custom concerning adultery, which decrees that the lover be beaten but not the wife. [684]

581 Among the Refugee Blacks marriage is in fact a contract of maintenance between a man and woman, which provides for the execution of such-and-such work by the one for the benefit of the other, and for the wife the obligation to be faithful. [586] This contract can be cancelled unilaterally without any sort of indemnity. [965] It does not directly involve the relatives of the spouses; it involves them only in case of the death of one spouse, for the surviving spouse must /138/ put up with the subservience ● [613] of mourning. It is principally for this reason that a marriage must be officially known by both lineages, and that a divorce must be proclaimed without delay.

582 613 614 Exogamy. Marriage is forbidden between persons of the same lineage. In expressing this prohibition the Refugee Blacks employ the word bee (lineage in the restricted sense) and not the word lo.

613 As we have seen in studying the situation of the various lineages, the various Boni kin groups follow different rules in this regard:

--The Dju lineage, which forms only one single group from the genealogical point of view, does not allow marriage between its members;

/138 cont./

613 614 --The Lapé lineage is divided into two groups from the genealogical point of view, but marriage between these two fractions remains prohibited. The law of exogamy is rigorously respected within this group;

--The Kotika lineage, which tends by forgetfulness of the genealogy to split into three fractions, tolerates union between members of different fractions; in 1958 there were seven cases of this. On the contrary, union is not allowed between members of the same fraction;

--The Dipélu I lineage, whose genealogy is completely known, does not allow marriage between its members, although for several generations it has been cut into two distinct social units, L'Enfant Perdu and Apatu villages, entirely separated geographically and each possessing its own head;

--It is the same for Dipélu II, but marriage is permitted between Dipélu I and Dipélu II;

--The Papaïston lineage allows the possibility of union between the principal fraction and the small Papaïston 2 fraction. But there is no marriage between members of the principal fraction;

613 614 588 --The Awara Bakka lineage on the contrary tolerates unions not only between the members of its three fractions but also recently within the principal fraction:

○Abenkina (Aw.B.1, F21) and △Boofo (Aw.B.1, E31)
○Kyéti (Aw.B.1, E30) and △Pitipiti (Aw.B.1, F3).

This situation is an object of scandal to the other groups, and it does not seem that we are present here at the beginning of a general transformation.

613 614 It is to be noted that the possibility of marriage is allowed between the members of groups presumed to be of the same origin but separated for a long time, like Dipélu I and Dipélu II.

/138 cont./

● 613 In general, one can say that the law of exogamy is main-
614 tained firmly within the fractions which know completely their genealogy. Union between classificatory "brothers" and "sisters" belonging to different fractions remains always prohibited in principle, but as for all the institutions of the Refugee Blacks, the prohibition ceases to be observed if fear of suprahuman sanctions weaken. /139/

This is what explains the difference in attitude among the [784] lineages. In the Awara Bakka lineage, people do not remember that marriages between fractions may have been followed by maladies or misfortunes, and for this reason they are no longer feared.

In the Kotika lineage it was the same, but an event which [789] took place in 1958 threw consternation. A young woman, Awini (K1, E37, Boniville), died suddenly, and divination showed that [784] she had been struck down by the kunu for having married her [761] classificatory brother Sintamann (K3, E145, Boniville). However, they belonged to two different fractions and their common relationship was the farthest removed possible in the lineage (tenth-degree relatives).

684 688 784 Pikadu. The offense against exogamy, pikadu (1), incest in the broad sense, is considered an offense against society and against religious law; it exposes the lineage to the vengeance of the gods who exercise the kunu on it. But in the thought of the Refugee Blacks, if incest unleashes the functioning of existing kunu, it [114] does not create new ones. What has been written on this subject by several authors seems inexact to us, at least for the Boni. [761] In the example put forth above Awini's death was attributed to the kunu brought to bear for a long time by the yorka of a man assassinated in former times by a member of the lineage.

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1. This word appears to come from the Portuguese pecado, sin.

/139 cont./

684 Committing *pikadu* is one of the most serious offenses that
688 a Refugee Black can commit; of course, as in the rest of the
moral prescriptions, no abstract principle is called on: the
elders teach the children from their earliest years: "If you commit
● [613] *pikadu*, you will fall ill or die." The head of the lineage
inflicts severe punishments on the guilty people to boot: for
the man, to make a large number of planks with an adze; for
the woman, to prepare and winnow as preparation for the next
broko de several *souques* /cans/ of rice, a long and tedious job.

588 However, if in spite of insults and blows a man and
woman of the same *bee* absolutely insist on marrying, people
end up, for the sake of peace and quiet, by accepting the accomplished
[769] fact. They go to the *fraga tiki* to make an offering
[778] of tafia to the ancestors to ask them to forgive the offense
[782] committed. No reprobation extends to the children born of
this union.

613 In the Awara Bakba lineage; which has practically rejected
588 the law of exogamy, the principle of a sanction remains
[684] and there is a pretense of chasing the guilty ones across the
village.

Not being able to use coercion and not having the right to expel a member of the lineage, captain and council can exert no material sanction.

613 The same notion of *pikadu* is attached to unions between
684 persons of the same patrilineage, although these patrilineages
have no effective organization and exist only by the transmission
of the fundamental interdiction, *bwasi kina*.

8/2 Before concluding an official or even clandestine union, the man and woman make sure that they do not have the same *bwasi kina* and in such a case give up their project; that, even if they are from different tribes, for example a Boni woman and a Saramaka.

/140/

684 This prohibition is of a purely religious nature and does
688 not entail any social sanctions; those concerned are convinced
784 that in such a case a suprahuman sanction would strike them in
the form of sickness or accident.

582 Prohibitions limiting marriage. Outside of the great interdiction,
[613] pikadu, which is attached to unions within one matrilineage and
one patrilineage, two prohibitions limiting marriage are found
among the Refugee Blacks, which they express thus:

[595] --I cannot have two wives at the same time in the same
lineage. For example I am forbidden to marry two "sisters"
[589] at the same time, but if I break with my wife, I may marry
her classificatory "sister" or any other woman of the same
lineage;

--I may not have relations, even passing ones, with a
[835] woman who has been married to my brother by the same mother;
[587] in particular, if my brother has just died, I shall not be able
to marry his widow.

The Boni are not capable of explaining the deep reasons
for these interdictions, but they interpret them as purely social
[684] and not religious prohibitions. The offender is simply threatened
with being beaten.

[171] The first of these rules seems very widely accepted in
Black Africa, as much in patrilineal societies as in a matrilineal
system.

[191] The second of these rules is characteristic in the Akan
(Agni, Baoulé) culture area and shows that the family custom
of the Refugee Blacks is related much more directly to that of
the Agni-Ashanti group than to that of the Dahomey.

184 One can note that this rule is exactly contrary to the
589 Saramaka custom, which obliges the widow to marry one of the
114 brothers of the dead man; this custom has been interpreted by
several authors as coming from imitation of the levirate of the
Jews, with which certain rebels were acquainted (it is known that
among the slaveowners there were many Jews).

/140 cont./

184 587 Whatever its origin, we should note that the Saramaka custom has no relation, as far as its legal content is concerned, to the levirate, nor to the inheritance of widows as it is practiced in numerous African societies. It does not correspond in any way to the transmission of a right over the widow, since this right does not exist; it probably results from the idea that the widow is better protected from the effects of the dead man's jealousy if she marries one of his brothers. Besides, she may
● [613] choose from among all his classificatory brothers, in the matrilineage as in the patrilineage, which assures her of a wide
[586] choice. She can break this union without any compensation after some months of living together and resume complete liberty.

582 Statistics of marriages between kin groups. We have listed on the table opposite, the total unions for which we have been able to identify with certainty the kinship of the spouses, including those broken by divorce and death. Their total number is 411.

582 619 The table emphasizes the more or less great frequency of unions between /141/ /table appears here//142/ such-and-such kin groups, as well as the frequency of unions between Boni women and men of other tribes, DJUKA, PARAMAKA, and SARAMAKA.

Out of a total of 411 unions of Boni women one notes:
--327 with BONI (80%);
-- 50 with DJUKA (12%);
-- 21 with SARAMAKA (5%);
-- 5 with PARAMAKA (1%);
[648] -- 8 with Creoles from Surinam (2%)

The proportion of intertribal marriages (20%) is high; it results from the frequent presence on the Maroni of Djuka or Saramaka boatmen coming to carry on transport. The reciprocal is not true; marriages between Boni men and women

[Text continues on p. 209]

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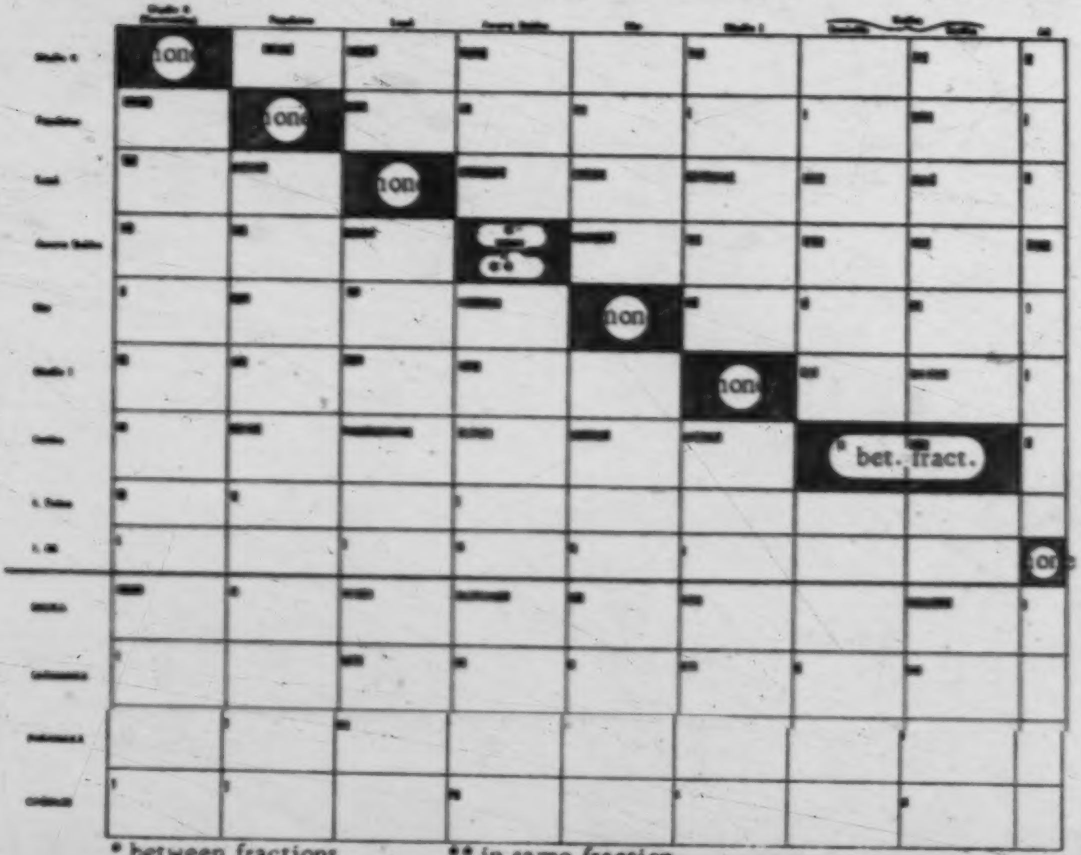
Marriage of Boni women of the lineages:



* between fractions ** in same fraction

/142 cont./

582 619 of other groupings are rare; that is because the Boni have almost no occasion to frequent the Tapanahoni, where economic activity is nil.

For 123 married men of the villages on the French bank there were in November, 1958, 11 unions with Djuka women, or 8 per cent. No marriage to Saramaka or Paramaka women existed.

582 613 The table confirms besides that marriages between members of different kin groups are entirely free and are not subject to any preoccupation with exchange or reciprocity. For example, out of 60 unions between Boni women of the Lapé lineage and Boni men, we have:

6 with men of the Dipélu I lineage
7 -- -- - - Dipélu II --
7 -- -- - - Papaïstone --
11 -- -- - - Awara Bakka --
4 -- -- - - Dju --
5 -- -- - - Dipélu I /sic/ --
20 -- -- - - Kotika --

[628] In fact, the geographical proximity of the villages has the most direct influence on unions.

582 613 628 For example a high proportion of women from Kormotibo (Dip. II) married men from Papaïston and reciprocally.

That comes from the fact that these villages are near each other and isolated from others. It is the same for Kotika and L'Enfant Perdu (Dip. I). In the small Afi lineage, divided between Kormotibo and Asisi-Awara Bakka villages, more than half the women are married to inhabitants of these two villages.

582 619 621 Certain personal affinities and habits of living have an indirect influence. For example, the Djuka boatmen passing through Boni country habitually stay in Asisi-Awara Bakka, because they are received in the homes of some of their own

582 619 62 /142 cont./
people who have lived there for a long time. They strike up relationships with the people of Asisi, and that favors new unions. This explains the high proportion of unions between the women of this village and the Djuka (13 out of 75). On the contrary, almost no marriages to Djuka are observed in Papaïston village, where no Djuka has settled permanently. /143/

584 613 [604] The marriage proposal. The suitor is obliged to ask for the assent of his own mother and his uncles (at the very least the eldest of his classificatory uncles); in general he asks his father also.

[604] If two of his classificatory uncles are expressly opposed, the plan must be abandoned. But there is no possible sanction for disobedience.

The suitor does not make the proposal himself; after making sure of the agreement of the girl he sends two persons, one of his uncles or brothers and one of his sisters in the classificatory sense.

These envoys speak to the woman's mother and uncles assembled together. If they agree, they go to ask for the assent of the head of the lineage. The men and women of the woman's lineage drink together a liter of tafia brought by the [969] envoys. Before drinking, the doyen of the lineage pours a little of it on the ground while invoking the ancestors, asking them to perpetuate the accord of the household and to grant them health and fecundity. This ceremony is made on the spot and they do not go to the fraga tiki, for they would be afraid to present themselves again at the fraga tiki in case of a break-up; prayer said anywhere in the village is not binding.

The two envoys, man and woman, play a very precise role. The man represents the postulant (it is a sort of marriage by proxy).

/143 cont./

585 The head of the lineage calls a classificatory sister of the
613 girl. He takes her by the hand and leads her to the suitor's
envoy, saying: "I give thee this woman."

Then he calls a classificatory brother of the girl. He leads him to the suitor's envoy, saying: "I give thee this man."

This second part of the ceremony is purely symbolic; there is no question at all that this man and this woman are marrying. Its purpose seems to be to show the perfect equality of the man and the woman in the marriage.

The words pronounced in the invocation to the ancestors
[969] are: "We give (this) woman to (this) man; may they live together, may they not be sick, may they have children, children who live."

[584] There is no need for the assent of the woman's father.

585 If it is a question of the first marriage of a young girl,
[583] the fiancé comes, aided by his friends, to build her a house. He builds her a boat and buys for her what is necessary for
[429] domestic life. When the person who is bringing up the girl judges the time to be ripe, she gives her the pãŋgi, garment of married women, authorizing thus the consummation of the marriage.

[613] The husband who built the house asks the elders of his
[969] wife's lineage to come in front of the house to throw tafia, to ask the ancestors that the couple be fecund and live a long time in this house.

584 Here, for example, is how the marriage proposal to
613 Chitaïna (Aw.B. 1, F43, Asisi village) by Déési (L1, F45, Loka village) proceeded in 1948.

To represent him Déési had sent his classificatory brother Tamu /144/ (L1, F32), older than he by about 15 years, and his classificatory aunt, Yaana (L1, E39). (See the genealogical table of the Lapé lineage.)

/144 cont./

584 The envoys, after making it known the evening before
613 that they were coming, presented themselves at 10 o'clock in the morning in Asisi-Awara Bakka village. Present were Irma, Chitaïna's mother; Alémin (Aw.B.1, E40), actual uncle; Antonu (Aw.B.1, E47), one of the oldest of the classificatory uncles; Namu (Aw.B.1, E48), classificatory aunt; and the girl's brothers and sisters by the same mother.

Tamu took the floor, unfolding Déési's merits and stating that he had serious intentions. The eldest of the uncles declared
585 acceptance. Chitaïna having fled according to custom, he
613 took her young sister Boomi, who was only five years old, by the hand and led her to Tamu, saying, "I give thee this woman." Then he took Abéni, Chitaïna's older brother, by the hand and led him to Yaana, saying, "I give thee this man."

[769] Next, tafia was poured on the ground while the ancestors were invoked in favor of the /new/ household.

The liter of tafia brought by Déési was shared symbolically in the evening among all the village inhabitants including the Afi lineage there.

585 For the installation of the household, since there was no
431 more room near Irma's house to build another, the latter gave one of the two houses she possessed.

584 Here is still another example concerning the two wives
602 of Fintiman (Dju, F6, Boniville village).

[595] For his first wife Mimi (K3, E156, Boniville) he sent his brother and sister by the same mother, Kléementi and Eliana, who approached Mimi's mother and her classificatory uncle Lébiman.

Fintiman had previously made sure of the agreement of his own father Malobi (Dip. 1, E50), who had brought him up, of his mother Béniti, and of his uncle Diolè (Dju, E1), the eldest of the classificatory uncles.

/145 cont./

582 Generally speaking, the custom of the Refugee Blacks used to consider as immoral the marriage of a very young girl to an old man, or of a very young boy to an adult woman. 588 178 The weakening of family morals is clearly demonstrated by two events which happened during the summer of 1960. A boy of thirteen and a half, K... of Boniville, left his guardian to join an Assisi woman, A...., 20 years older than he and with a very bad reputation to boot; some months later his example was imitated /146/ by a boy of 14 who began living with a [684] [613] woman of 29. Nothing like that had ever been seen, and people inveighed against the scandal of it; but in both cases, guardians and lineage heads showed themselves incapable of making their authority respected by force.

882 [562] Marriage of girls. It can still be said (although things are in the process of changing rapidly) that girls, kweyi umɪ, occupy a place apart in the thought of the Refugee Blacks; the reprobation which embraces women does not extend to them. 882 834 [291] People say that girls "have good manners," and in fact most of them, although naked except for a little apron, have a reserved attitude, a becoming bearing, which contrast with the attitude of the married women. To tell the truth, this virtue is not so much due to natural inclinations as to the strict [593] vigilance with which their mothers surround them. The mothers literally do not let them out of their sight and permit no man to speak to them out of their presence. "Until dawn, until the cock crows, she keeps vigil," says the song, alluding to the mother who watches over her daughter's virtue. [836] [599] If a girl comes to lose her virginity without being properly married, pɔti na ɔsu, "established in a house," it is a dishonor for her mother and her near relatives.

/147 cont./

583 A girl's marriage does not involve any dowry in the African sense of the term, but it involves payment of the price of virginity to the mother. This payment is made after consummation of the marriage (or after defloration if there has been a clandestine union). It consists of seven pieces of cloth, a demijohn of tafia, and various imported objects (the whole representing in 1958 about 8,000 francs, which is relatively small for the Refugee Blacks). It really has to do with the price of virginity, for nothing is paid back if there is a break-up. The man moreover gives the girl white beads /possibly "pearls" --Tr./, red cloth, and sweetmeats which constitute the payment of her akka.

[429] The price of virginity is paid to the person who has raised the girl, even if it is a man. This person divides it equally with the mother or, if the latter is dead, with the mother's sisters.

For example, for ○ Baïkom (D,u, F10), brought up by her father Malobi in Loka village, her husband Moomu (Kotika) paid the price of virginity to Malobi who shared it with his wife Béniti.

[604]
[613] No payment is made to the uncles or to the head of the lineage.

836
[599] The fact that a girl may carry on a clandestine affair and be deflowered without having been properly proposed to is considered a shame for the mother; but if the seducer confesses and pays the price of virginity, honor is restored.

Defloration does not necessarily entail marriage, for the seducer does not always intend to take on the maintenance of a household.

If the girl is deflowered too young, her mother does not give her the pangi and continues to forbid her to have sexual relations, for she fears that she may become pregnant. Now for
848 a girl, becoming pregnant without having concluded a contract
558 of maintenance with a man is an extreme shame, for that means she is not worth anything.

/149 cont./

836 684 not done." He advises Doni above all to remit to the girl the payment of her akka, namely two camisas, a string of white beads which she will wear on her left wrist, and a bottle of syrup which she will offer to her akka while drinking it. Doni does not bother to face the mother and does not intend to see the girl again; it is his sister Maria who will attend to the errand.

That done, the mother will accept the fait accompli and will not show her anger. She will wait for the payment.

584 836 One also hears talk rather often of the clandestine consummation of a properly arranged marriage, the engaged couple wishing thus to force the hand of their guardians and obtain their freedom sooner.

587 Remarriage of widows or divorcées. It does not give rise to any payment, but the marriage proposal is made to the woman's uncles and the head of her lineage in the same form as for a girl. In such a case it is no longer a question of asking for an authorization (a man would have to have the worst reputation for the woman's lineage to refuse the marriage) but to obtain the benediction of the ancestors on the household. Moreover, it is [613] very important for the heads of both lineages to be notified of this marriage, for in case of the death of husband or wife the other will have to bear the weight of the mourning.

581 Women are guided in their choice by sensual attraction but largely also by self-interest. They take care to marry a man who has, as it is said among us, some future, a position. The owners of outboard motors do not fail to pass at reduced speed by the villages in order to be admired by the women.

Men who have a reputation for "working hard" (for work is the sole wealth in Boni country) are frequently chosen by girls even though they may have one or two wives already.

159 /152 cont./

595 [837] [613] Since it is forbidden to have two wives at the same time in the same lineage, that produced a scandal and his uncles had to intervene so that he would not be beaten.

After that, without leaving M..., he took officially another wife, A... (Papalston). They lived together nearly [837] [586] eight years, but A... began to deceive him while he was on a trip. The first time, he only threatened her; the third time he repudiated her.

[619] Again he officially took another wife, T..., a Djuka from the Tapanahoni.

[589] A year later A..., who wished she had him back, had her uncles intervene so that she might come back into his favor. G..., through deference to her uncles, accepted against his will.

Thus he found himself engaged in three unions, M..., [586] A..., and T.... He thought this situation was leading him to ruin and sacrificed T... although he had no fault to find with her.

[586] Some time afterward A... began to deceive him again and he repudiated her once and for all.

Finally he took a last wife, B... (Asisi), by whom he had no children.

On each of these undertakings he had to submit to violent scenes by his first wife M..., who was very attached to him and would have liked to keep him for herself alone. Nevertheless, she never divorced him and did not provoke difficulties with her co-wives.

[842] He had a child by M... after more than 15 years of sterile marriage.

In 1958 G... was living with M... and B..., who got along well together. He was not looking for any more new adventures.

/161 cont./

764 The dead person's spouse, his nearest relatives, and his children come and hang their hammocks inside the krɛyɔsu, where they will live until broko dɛ (eighth day after the death).

[533] [535] The village people begin the tukka songs and dance, which will last part of the night, while the friends and near relatives of the dead man lament seated, head covered with a cloth.

[824] The first day after the death, as soon as it is morning, the kisimɛ arrive, and begin to make the coffin, using mahogany boards always kept on hand, thanks to the head of the village.

[613] The women of the dead man's lineage prepare a meal which is offered to the kisimɛ about 1:00 P.M. at the end of their work.

While the coffin is being made, the dead man's friends and distant relatives arrive in crowds from the neighboring villages, bringing tafia and cloth as offerings. Two kisimɛ lay these pieces of cloth one by one on the body saying, "So-and-so buries you."

[767] These pieces of cloth are divided up; about 15 are put into the coffin by the kisimɛ, part of the rest serve as pay for the kisimɛ, part as pay for the ɔlɔmɛ; another part, finally, is used for dressing the widower and his co-wives (or the widow), showing thus that during the whole mourning period *they live dependent on the dead person.*

Then the kisimɛ close the coffin without any other rites taking place. The late arrivers who bring more cloths knock the coffin saying, "I bury you," and put them down on the ground.

[692] The work of the kisimɛ is over; they bring the body outside the krɛyɔsu, in front of which has assembled the council called lɛnti kuutu, which constitutes the judicial apparatus of the Boni.

/161 cont./

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692 This tribunal is charged with establishing the causes of death and rendering a decision on this subject which has the force of law. But it is above all charged with judging the dead person, with determining whether he has lived worthily, whether he has the right to be buried according to the rites and to be invoked as an ancestor, or whether on the contrary he was a wisimã.

● [613] [645] The grand man designates one or two lineage heads to preside over the council and "command" the dead person until the burial.

The grand man designates who will lead the assemblage and will "command" the dead person until the burial.

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613 This cannot be the head of the dead person's lineage, for no one can at the same time be judge and judged.

Ex.:	for Béniti (Dju) this was Popo	head of the Lapé lo
	for Atikati (Dju) it was Kondoku	head of the Awara Bakka lo
	for Kotoïda (Aw.B.) it was Tafanié	head of the Papalsson lo
	for Way (Dip. II) it was Tafanié	— /162/

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787 The 2nd and 3rd days after the death are given over to the interrogation of the dead person, which on the evening of the first day had scarcely begun.

[184] The rites of this interrogation vary from one village to another; in certain villages they begin to carry the dead man even before the construction of the coffin; the questions are not asked everywhere in the same fashion.

[171] The dead person is interrogated by methods widespread in West Africa and which are related to spiritualism: the coffin is carried on the heads of two men, feet forward. The dead man is supposed to push the bearers forward to say yes, and to make them nod their heads from left to right to say no.

/162 cont./

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[613]
In principle the forward bearer (who is called bossman by analogy with a boat) must belong to the dead person's lineage. Apart from this restriction, the bearers can be (and are in fact) any people whatever, the only condition required being that they be extremely vigorous, because the load they carry is at the limit of their strength.

Fraud can exist in isolated cases, but in the great majority of cases there is no doubt as to the good faith of the bearers; they give contradictory answers, go ahead and back interminably, until, exhausted, they are raised up again by others. Actually, the interpretation of these automatic movements does not differ essentially from any process of divination.

[766]
The dead person is interrogated from the age of four or five years up. If it is a very young child, he is not interrogated; but the causes of his death are sought by interrogating possessed people, and if there is reason to, the kunu is appeased in the same fashion.

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At the beginning of the interrogation the tribunal tries to make sure that the dead person was not a wisimĩ. After sending the bearers to the other end of the village, the president of the assemblage has two young men hidden in huts; then he has the bearers called, saying to the dead person: "I have lost So-and-so and So-and-so, find them." If the dead person was an upright man, he must have acquired a suprahuman clairvoyance permitting him to direct his bearers straight away toward the huts in question. If he was a wisimĩ, he will be as if blind; his bearers go wandering in vain from hut to hut.

They state that this test always succeeds.

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The interrogation proceeds interminably. The causes of death are taken up. The first question is: is it a god who killed you? The answer is nearly always yes, and they proceed by elimination in order to arrive, for example, at learning that it is an Ampuku, that it is the Ampuku borne by So-and-so. By what the kunu was set in motion, how to appease it, is not the

/168 cont./

764 co-wife, on the contrary, are completely veiled and show by their state of prostration the keenest sorrow. Each of them is assisted by a female relative who supports them when they have to move somewhere else, for they are supposed to be too overcome to move alone.

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761 The interrogation as to the causes of death has already taken place the day before, but Tafanié proclaims, in front of me, the result of it to the latest arrivals: the deceased was struck down by a yɔrka which pursues the lineage with its kunu. She had already received several warnings in the form of illness; the yɔrka had demanded a payment which she and her near relatives had neglected to furnish. Impossible to learn anything further before being able to interrogate this yɔrka, whose habitual bearer has left for Saint-Laurent. It is necessary to wait for his return in order to mollify the yɔrka's anger.

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[613] About ten o'clock the members of the lanti kuutu go toward the fraga tiki of the Awara Bakka lo, in front of which they all sit down on their stools. I notice that not a single man of the dead person's lineage appears in the front row. In it I recognize Popo (Lapé), Poopu (Dipélu II, Kormotibo), Tafanié (Papalitoo). The one who is speaking is a foreigner passing through, a very aged and respected Djuka.

[782] The elders invoke Masa Gadu and the ancestors in general, asking them to protect them from adversity in the future; then the offering of water and tafia takes place (no cane juice). I notice that a little is poured on each of the secondary fraga tiki erected for the sake of each one of the ancestors who pursue another lineage with their kunu. That lasts about a quarter of an hour.

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424 Next someone goes to ask the deceased to whom she bequeaths the Papa gadu god which manifested itself in her; for the gods are bequeathed like the rest of the inheritance, even if those concerned are divinities which exercise the kunu

/168 cont./

764 787 776 428 424 against the lineage. The god ratifies this legacy or not; in general it follows, they say, the wishes of its bearer and manifests itself some time afterward in the designated heir.

The coffin is placed on the heads of two men: Tafanié puts the questions with authority. He begins first by making sure of the passivity of the bearers, invites the dead woman to push their heads forward to say yes, to give them an impulse from right to left to say no.

The coffin advances and draws back several times; its weight is at the limit of what the two men can support. Two secondary bearers help the rear bearer, preventing the coffin from falling.

The dead woman suddenly leads her bearers across the village. We see it come back /169/ a quarter of an hour afterward, accompanied by a woman of about 35 years, Moni, in front of whom it stopped.

Tafanié asks whether it wishes to leave its god to her; the dead woman confirms. Upon the statement of this legacy Moni's face reflects no gladness at all, nor any fear.

They explain to me that the designated heiress can in no way refuse this legacy. She must immediately begin her instruction given by a teacher, in order to become a suitable bearer. The expenses of her instruction are borne by her lineage.

● [613] [621] 1. /Footnote at bottom of p. 168; no reference to it on the page/ Let us recall that this lineage, too few in numbers to constitute a separate social unit, lives with the Awara Bakka, with whom it has no connection through kinship or alliance.

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613 It is very clear in Kotolida's case that the inheriting is within the matrilineage in the strict sense, bɛɛ. Only the members of the Afi lineage to which she belonged can profit by it.

764 Burial. About 2:00 P.M. the women of the lineage who had been preparing the food for the ɔlɔmɛ since morning leave by canoe in the direction of the cemetery.

At three o'clock the last preparations begin. The occupants of the mortuary shed, completely veiled and supported by their near relatives, go to take up positions at the wharf for the last farewells (for they will not go to the cemetery).

The coffin is carried through the village one last time. This is the farewell of the dead woman to her family. The objects used in mourning are carefully collected, the earth of the shed floor raked up wherever the sanies of the cadaver might have fallen, and the whole put on the papay which is placed on the mortuary bark.

[775] At three o'clock an apinti drum is placed on the wharf to call the dead person (it is obviously a question of preventing the yorka from remaining in the village). The dead person turns up at the wharf. The coffin passes over a freshly cut banana-tree trunk placed at the limit of the village and of the beach. This is the symbolic passing of the dead person out of the world of the living. It is put on the canoe while the lamentations of the near relatives resound. The scene is not lacking in grandeur.

[783] The canoe draws slowly away, the drummer in the bow, while the spectators go down in a long procession to wash themselves free of the defilement of death.

[767] At four o'clock they arrive at the cemetery. The bearers of the dead person who have taken places in the canoe pass their burden to the ɔlɔmɛ who have come to the edge of the river. This to mark the fact that /171/ the ɔlɔmɛ are in authority at the cemetery. The bearers will only be present at the ceremony.

/172 cont./

764 787 Several times the paddle is seen to answer affirmatively, then negatively. Not one of those present can understand what is said, but not one shows impatience or doubt.

[613] Suddenly Tafanié orders his assistants to cut rods: the dead woman has asked that the people of her own lineage be beaten, guilty of having neglected the yɔrka's warnings. On seeing these preparations the people of Kotoïda's lineage /173/ run away in confusion in every direction while their adversaries pursue them with the appearance of having a very good time. Some take refuge in the water, others in the bush; none whatever can be caught.

Completely symbolic punishment, moreover, for at the end of ten minutes they are seen to reappear and take their places again among those present.

764 The obsequies are ended. Only the deceased's near relatives stay seated in their hammocks under the mortuary shed. They will remain there until the broko dɛ.

764 769 Payments of the ɔlɔmɛ̃. The ɔlɔmɛ̃ divide up one lot of cloth, keeping track of what they have received in the preceding obsequies. That does not appear to cause any discussion. If, after this, someone who has not furnished any work wants to take one of these pieces of cloth, he may do so by offering tafia to the people present.

766 787 775 Funeral ceremonies for people who die while traveling. If a man dies in the course of a distant trip, they take from the cadaver before burying it his hair and fingernails, which are brought back to his native village; in fact, it is assumed that as long as a fragment of the body is not buried, the yɔrka remains attached to it; hair and fingernails will therefore permit the interrogation of the yɔrka and will be buried in the cemetery with the usual rites.

/173 cont./

764 Broko dɛ. The eighth day after death, a ceremony called broko dɛ takes place, not to be confused with the lifting of mourning. This ceremony marks the end of the burial rites proper; when it is ended, the dead person can no longer be questioned directly; the period of mourning begins.

● [613] It is a very simple ceremony which attracts few people and happens almost entirely within the lineage.

[538] At nightfall they begin to relate Anansi toli, those traditional tales which make the audience vibrate together and [535] create a special atmosphere. Then come the sɔnge, susa, and awasa dances which last all night.

764 769 The next day each one busies himself at small jobs in the village while the women prepare the meal. This is the ceremony called towɛ nyɪ, which takes place at the edge of the mortuary shed about four o'clock in the afternoon. Each woman of the lineage brings a large bowl of rice and a small bowl containing either a piece of meat cooked in sauce or some fish. The oldest man of the lineage has large banana leaves spread out on the ground at the edge of the shed; he takes a little of each dish and puts it down on the leaves, while at the same time addressing the ancestors in ordinary language in the tone of an intimate conversation: "Dead of the family, come, come to eat today."

That lasts perhaps a quarter of an hour, while those present are seated, immobile and meditative. The ancestors are supposed to eat the spiritual part of the food -- kaaka fu nyɪ.

Then the elders line up at the edge of the shed five or six small children of about ten years, each one of whom holds a basin upside down. A man keeps them in line /174/ with the aid of a long stick. Then, at a signal, he lifts the stick and the children dash headlong with laughs and shouts toward the ancestors' portion, each one carrying away all he could cover [613] with his basin. The ceremony terminates with a joyful meal eaten together by the whole lineage, symbol of the communion between the dead and the living.

/775 cont./

765 For the duration of the mourning, any indiscretion of the
995 surviving spouse will draw upon him the pitiless vengeance of the
yorka; it is important for him to make himself forgotten, to
have a modest and decent demeanor. The dead person might
be vexed with him for having kept his health and good looks.
So they try to give the surviving spouse the aspect of a miserable
765 and unfortunate being. The dead person's relatives are par-
995 ticularly interested in having this discipline observed, for in
613 the opposite case the dead person's *yorka* would turn back in
● vengeance against his own lineage. During all the mourning the
whole lineage considers itself in danger. So custom requires
that during all this period the widower (or widow) be placed
under the authority of the dead person's lineage.

765 In the case of concubinage, mourning is taken on by the
[illegible] spouse even if the relations have not been made official.
People cite the example of Way (Boniville) who assumed mourn-
ing for a Djuka with whom she had begun to live before he
could propose to her officially.

765 *State of persons in mourning*. A widower's state is exactly like
[775] that of a widow, which tends to show that in the eyes of the
Refugee Blacks the dead, men and women, have the same
level of being and the same power over the living.

765 The surviving spouse is placed under the protection of
769 the ancestors of the dead spouse's lineage. Without this pro-
613 tection insured by the prayers of the members of this lineage,
[227] he would find himself defenseless. The proof of it is that the
[illegible] principal sanction against him is to lift the mourning prematurely by going to the *fraga tiki* to tell the ancestors that one is no
longer interested in him. That amounts indirectly to cursing
him (see below the example of Gambe).

/175 cont./

765 The spouse in mourning is taken temporarily out of his
613 lineage and placed under the /176/ /Fig. 24 appears here/ /177/ protection of the lineage of the dead spouse, in a situation corresponding to that of the client in ancient /Roman/ society.

[969] He can no longer pray to his own ancestors. If he is sick he asks the elders of the dead spouse's lineage to pray for him to their own ancestors.

765 A man in mourning is freed from certain obligations and responsibilities:

--He cannot take part in a council of his lineage;

--If there is a squabble between his lineage and another, he cannot be taken to task;

--Part of his catch may not be appropriated in case of great *nivrée;*

--He is freed from his funerary obligations as an *ɔlɔmɛ* or *kisimɛ*.

765
602
613 A man in mourning is placed under the collective authority of his wife's lineage, but actually under the authority of her near relatives: mother, grandmother, real uncles and aunts. It is real kinship which is involved in matters of mourning; classificatory kinship enters into it only if all the near relatives are dead.

In general it is old women of these near relatives who are charged with watching over the behavior of the widower and on the other hand with seeing that he does not lack anything he needs.

For example Alémin (Aw.B.1) was married to Yundu (L2, G60) of the Lapé 2 fraction, living in Loka village. When she died in May, 1957, he was put under the authority of Asakundu (L2, E55), his wife's grandmother, and of Asakundu's sister
[968] Térésa, living in Bonivilie. Since he had not yet built a hut for his wife, he was enjoined to come specially to build himself a little hut in Loka village in order to reside near Asakundu.

[Text Continues on P. 269]

6:Hurault--268 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

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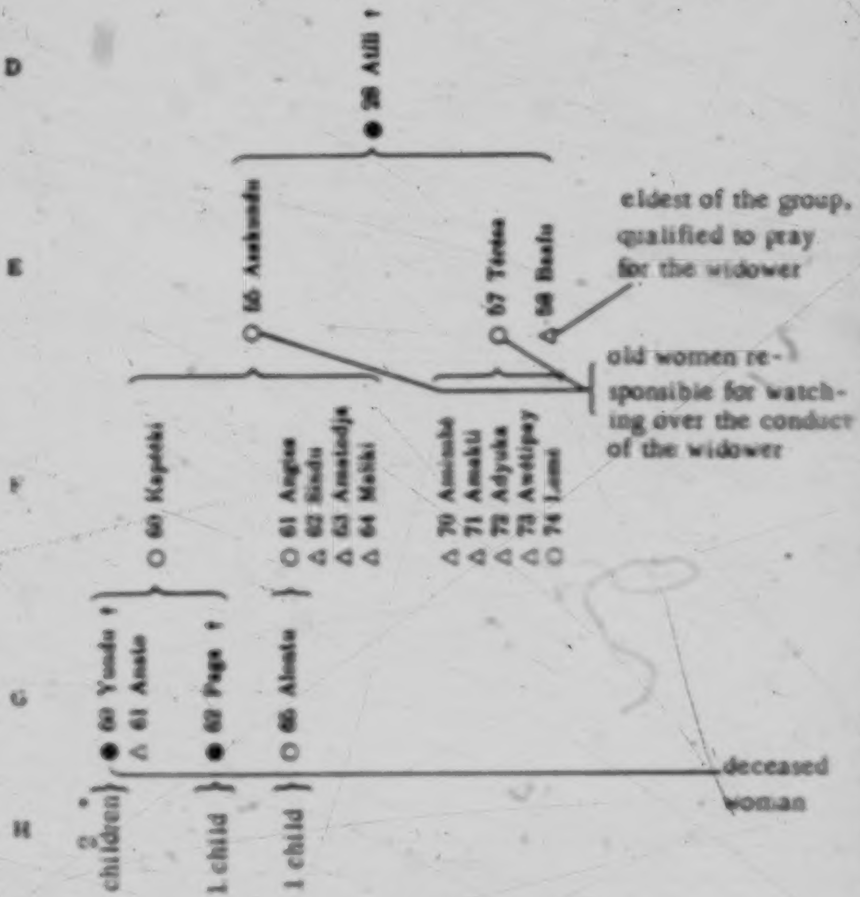
● 613
765


D
E
F
G
H
● 58 Alili †
○ 55 Asabwadu
○ 57 Tiéza
△ 58 Baalu
○ 60 Kapitéi
○ 61 Angèse
△ 62 Sindu
△ 63 Amatodja
△ 64 Maliki
△ 70 Amimbé
△ 71 Amakü
△ 72 Adyuka
△ 73 Awitipay
○ 74 Lami
● 60 Yundu †
△ 61 Amaio
● 67 Paga †
○ 65 Alimatu
2 children
1 child
1 child

eldest of the group, qualified to pray for the widower

old women responsible for watching over the conduct of the widower

deceased woman

Fig. 24. Genealogy of the Lapé 2 fraction. Functions resulting from Yundu's death.

/177 cont./

765 If he was sick, it was △ Baafu (L2, E58), the eldest of the
602 group, who was to pray for him. Alémin had nothing to do with
613 the head of the Lapé lineage nor with his wife's classificatory uncles of the Lapé 1 group.

As for Diamanti (Aw.B.2, E56, † in 1955), her husband Booki (K3, E133) spent the mourning in the house that Diamanti had had constructed for her by a former husband. It was ○Emma, Diamanti's mother, and Sanéti, Emma's younger sister, who kept him under watch, under the responsibility of △ Akodo, the dead woman's brother (all the actual uncles being dead). Booki had nothing to do with either the classificatory uncles nor the head of the Awara Bakka lineage.

When Atuku (Aw.B.1, D20) died (1956), her husband Nétali was put under the authority of Kondoku, Atuku's brother, all the uncles in both the real and the classificatory sense being dead.

765 The submission that this mourning entails must not be
[773] considered as symbolic. It bears down on the surviving spouse with an intolerable weight which can be borne only because of the conviction that it is the sole means of protection against the dead person's jealousy. Not only does the widower (or widow) do nothing to free himself from it, but at the least indisposition he will add, of his own accord, to the harshness of his state.

The widower can no longer use his clothes and personal
765 utensils; he keeps /178/ his hammock and gun. All the rest,
613 clothing (appropriated for the mourning), various utensils, is furnished him by the dead woman's lineage. Each woman of this lineage must give him a little of what she prepares. He himself must not ask for anything.

/179 cont./

765 After three months, an offering is made at the fraga tiki
[769] of the dead person's lineage, setting forth how much her spouse
[778] has respected her memory and asking permission to lighten the
[613] manifestations of his sorrow. The mourning is then lightened,
but the man in mourning continues to wear a bandeau around
his head or at the very least an old beret.

765 During the first months the man in mourning has no other
461 responsibility than to hunt and fish at the order of the dead
[613] woman's lineage. He does his own cooking with the food given
to him; he cuts a clearing for his mother-in-law or another
woman of the deceased's relatives, who will farm it with him.
[431] Next, he receives the order to go and earn the money necessary
for the sizable contribution he must bring to the festival of the
lifting of mourning. During the entire duration of the mourning
he must report on his work and moves.

765 When the end of mourning approaches, he must do a job
[606] for the benefit of his mother-in-law, generally redoing the
roof of her house or building a boat for her.

These arrangements do not involve any material sanction
[626] whatever. Like the rest of the social life of the Refugee Blacks,
they rest entirely upon fear of a suprahuman sanction.

[589] After the lifting of mourning, the person in mourning may
remarry without further delay.

765 State of widows and co-wives of a widower. The state of a
768 woman in mourning is practically identical to that of a widower.
[562] She lives for the duration of mourning in her deceased husband's
house under the surveillance of his near relatives on the maternal
[613] side. The dead man's lineage lends her all the objects she
[439] needs and furnishes the imported commodities (salt, kerosene,
soap) that she uses. On the other hand, she may freely use the
produce of the clearing that her husband had cut for her, since
it is taken for granted that these products are the exclusive
property of the wife.

/179 cont./

765 Before coming out of mourning, the widow must procure
431 for herself at the minimum the money necessary for a demijohn
of tafia as a contribution to the festival of the lifting of mourn-
[806] ing. She must make a present of several cans of couac to her
husband's mother.

765 A pregnant woman undergoes mourning exactly according
843 to the general law. The custom described by several authors
184 for the Saramaka, according to which the pregnant woman must
join one of her husband's "brothers," does not apply to the Boni.

765 There are some attenuations of the harshness of mourning
888 with respect to old women. For example in 1956, Lémiki
(70 years), living in Boniville, was in mourning for her husband
Tabiki (Awara Bakka, but residing since childhood with the
Lapɛ́ lineage in Loka /180/ where he had been raised by his
[968] father). Lémiki alternately spent three weeks in her house and
[602] three in her husband's. It was Asamani, Tabiki's sister by the
same father, who exercised authority over her.

765 This remarkable example shows that as regards mourning
768 (rights and duties), the principle of residence plays an essential
role. He who has been reared by his father is in this respect
● [613] taken out of his lineage, which loses all rights and all control
over the conduct of the mourning.

765 The co-wives of a widower are subject to mourning on
[775] the same grounds as he, and for the same motive, since they
are targets for the jealousy of the dead woman's yɔrka.

[968] However, they are authorized most often to live with their
maternal family. When the period of dipi baaka has ended,
765 they may take up conjugal relations again with their husband,
833 but at intervals of several weeks and without his being able to
spend the night with one of them. Each time he must ask per-
[613] mission of the head of the dead woman's lineage.

/180 cont./

765 An incident. In 1957, the Saramaka Gamba (75 years old),
● 613 Way's widower (Dip. I), caused a serious incident by refusing
689 several times the obedience he owed to the latter's lineage, on
the pretext that he was old and knew how to behave.

His son Maliki (born of a Saramaka woman), whom he was raising, married to Way's daughter, had gone fishing above the Litani. Upon his return, Kwau (80 years old), Way's elder brother, reproached him for having left without authorization, pointing out that his father, Gamba, being placed under his authority by mourning, he was too, because of this fact. Gamba
[598] did not accept this reasoning and the two old men fought. This
[769] was a fine scandal. Kwau and the elders of Way's lineage came before the fraga tiki of L'Enfant Perdu village to lift his mourn-
[798] ing forthwith (which, let us recall, is the equivalent of cursing
[784] him by delivering him over to the vengeance of the dead woman's yɔrka).

Members of Way's family went to break up the shacks of Gamba and his son, who lived hidden in the bush for some time.
[629] Then Gamba had the village heads intercede and obtained his
[769] pardon. The elders of Way's lineage went to the fraga tiki to
[798] utter the words putting things back in order.

765 Lifting of mourning. The festival of the lifting of mourning - puu baaka - is celebrated 18 months to two years after the burial. The delay may be a little longer, for most often the village celebrates this festival for several of its dead at the same time. It is a heavy burden, for festivals for lifting mourning attract many people and everyone present must find as much as he wishes to eat and drink.

[621] This festival is celebrated in the framework of the village and not in that of the lineage. It will be celebrated in the same way for a Djuka who died in a Boni village, provided that he lived there a sufficiently long time. In such a case the expenses

/180 cont./
765 are divided up equally among all the inhabitants of the village. But if the dead person had near relatives in the village, children, nephews, or brothers, it is they who stand the main burden.
● [613] Members of the dead person's lineage who are settled in other villages contribute equally to the expenses and the organizing of the festival, but in a symbolic fashion. /181/

[623] A council (kuutu) of the village inhabitants sets the date; during the two weeks preceding each one is busy.
765
262 The women hull and winnow rice, prepare great quantities of couac and sugar-cane juice. The busimã scour the bush and have meat and fish smoked. Each one, according to his means, buys tafia, sugar, chocolate, and other articles of food liked by the Refugee Blacks.

765
775 The celebration of the rites occupies a whole week. This is because, the Refugee Blacks think the influence of the dead person can be eliminated only progressively by the repetition of the rite of separation.

The first day, the yorka of the dead person whose mourning is going to be lifted is called by formulas beaten on the
[535] apinti drum. Then possession dances take place.

765 The second day is reserved for the material preparation for the ceremonies to follow.

[613]
[822]
[783]
[775] The third day, the spouse in mourning, if there is one, is conducted by the members of the dead person's lineage under the mortuary shed. He is dressed in red and is congratulated for having kept the mourning well. Then he is led to the river, and old women of the dead person's lineage begin to bathe him while adjuring the yorka to part company with him.

[538]
[781] The fourth day at nightfall, all those present assemble at the mortuary shed. They recite tales (Anãsi tɔli), improvisations (mato), and riddles (ɔdo). This phase of the festival has as its object the concentrating of the attention of the hearers; it creates a warm, collective atmosphere which impregnates those present, bringing to them intense and highly colored emotions.

/182 cont./

965 Then they address the dead person in the name of the people of his village: "We have done with thee, stay there where God has placed thee."

The spouse in mourning is again bathed in the river by old women who have themselves gone through mourning.

[769] [775] Then they address the yɔrka of the ancestors and the entities of the Beyond who are imagined to have come in a crowd: "Ala sani di kɔm ya, yu mu luku ala Sŋga bɛ; u kaba Sŋga yu; yu sa: waka ala peesi; (Each one of the beings who have come, be benevolent toward us all; we have finished with thee, thou canst go anywhere)."

On the seventh day most of those present begin to leave. An intimate ceremony brings the dead person's near relatives together in the very house where he died. They weep and lament one last time. Then a last offering of food is made in the same house, and they repeat the adjuration: "We have done with thee; stay where God has placed thee."

[768] [613] [431] ● The eighth day, the spouse whose mourning has just been lifted is conducted solemnly back to his village by the people of the dead person's lineage. He is congratulated, he offers food and drink to all those present. What he might have had left of savings disappears on this occasion.

He must sleep three nights in his village, still without being able to have relations with a woman. When this time limit has gone by, he comes to give back the red clothes which the dead person's lineage had lent to him. Only then is he free.

[114] Notes taken in Boniville in November, 1957 on the occasion of the lifting of mourning for Béniti. This festival is given for the lifting of mourning for ○ Béniti (Dju. ES. living in Boniville, † in 1955 at 75), of △ Tito (Kotika, Boniville, † in 1955 at 15), and of △ G...., boy of ten, son of a woman of the village of L'Enfant Perdu (Dip. I), dead in Boniville where he was reared by Téréza. The festival is given more than two years after death. Sometimes, when there is no spouse subjected to mourning

/182 cont./

765 (which is the case here), they wait still longer in order to be able to group the lifting of mourning for several dead people from the same village in a single ceremony. The unfolding of the rites shows that much more importance is attached to Béniti than to the two young boys; in fact, the ceremony is devoted almost exclusively to her.

765 621 613 [229] The mourning-lifting ceremonies in Boniville are particularly interesting, for this village includes members of five different lineages. The distribution of functions and duties allows one to better understand the thought of the Boni relative to social organization; the principle of residence plays the determining role. The ceremony takes place in the village where the dead people lived, whatever their lineage was. The burden of organization is divided up about equally among all the inhabitants of the village. The /183/ members of the lineages of the dead people living in other villages are present at the ceremony, but their contribution is much less important.

765 [251] On November 8 (day called busimɔ kam) at noon, the festival begins with the arrival of the buchiman who, the week before, had caught and dried fish for the festival.

The buchiman are put under the authority of ∠Tofioto (K). They are all volunteers (one who would excuse himself from rendering this service would lay himself open to being abandoned alone on the day when he would have to bear the weight of mourning for one of his near relatives). The main weight of mourning is borne by Boniville village. The people of the principal fraction of the Dju (Asisi village) furnish a rather large contribution as regards time spent fishing but symbolic as to the furnishing of tafia and imported foods.

[226] [251] [621] [613] These buchiman had been at work since October 25, catching and salting fish:

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/183 cont./

	for Boniville	for Asisi-Dju
Fintiman Kiémenti Doni Alibi	sons and grandsons of Béniti (Dju)	3 men over 20 years old
4 young men of the Kotika lineage		4 to 5 adolescents
1 —	Dip. I —	
2 —	Lapé —	
1 —	Papaliston —	
2 —	Poti —	

They furnished a total of two weeks of work but each one collected for himself about 15 kilograms of dry fish.

765
[531]
[411]

The buchiman, riding in five large canoes decorated with multicolored oriflammes, approach the Boniville wharf where all the young people of the village are massed, the men armed with their guns, the women brandishing banners made of brand-new camisas. The bucahr resound, punctuated by hundreds of shots. In an atmosphere of enthusiasm the buchiman make their entrance into the village and go to report on their mission to the council assembled under the mortuary shed. According to custom, this council is improvised at the last moment by the elders who are there, without attention to origin, and does not involve any definite authority.

Four baskets of dried fish are put down at the edge of the shed, for the mourning-lifting festival, then each one goes to get and arrange in his house a big personal basketful.

The fish intended for the festival are distributed among the women charged with preparing them.

About 2:00 P.M. the elders are assembled in the western part of the shed; in the eastern part, the near relatives of the dead for whom mourning will be lifted lament.

Several apinti drums are brought and placed laterally.

/18o cont./

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● [613] Fintiman directs the ceremony. He divides all these dishes without distinction of origin into several lots, one for each lineage.

[515] All the guests go down to the wharf to wash in the river, then put on new clothes before participating in the ceremonial meal.

[613] The people of each lineage go to eat on their side; a bowl is carried to the people in mourning, like Alémin, who remain confined at home. But the near relatives of the three dead for whom mourning is going to be lifted take part in the ceremony.

765 About four o'clock the women are seen to appear again, carrying a small bowl of rice accompanied by a little fish and peanut sauce. They put them down on the ground at the edge of the mortuary shed.

Banana leaves are arranged at the edge of the shed (north wall, on the side facing the river).

The elders, seated on their little benches, gather together in a half circle. Fintiman and Bukuman take a little from each bowl, spread it out on the banana leaves. They call by name the dead for whom mourning is being lifted, Béniti and the young boys Tito and G...., speaking to them in a familiar conversational tone as if to living people whom one invited to eat.

Several persons come to eat a little of the food.

At 5:00 P.M. Fintiman has five small boys of five to seven years line up, each provided with a basin, in front of the food spread out on the ground. At a given signal they rush forward, each one carrying away what he could cover with his basin. They leave a little of it, which will stay there all night. The next day the left-overs from the buffet prepared for the living will be added to it.

/187 cont./

765 Since there is no spouse in mourning (Béniti had been divorced for a long time), the ceremony stops there.

Then those present scatter in the village, go to dance, eat, and drink at one another's houses. They have the satisfied air of people who have just done an important job successfully.

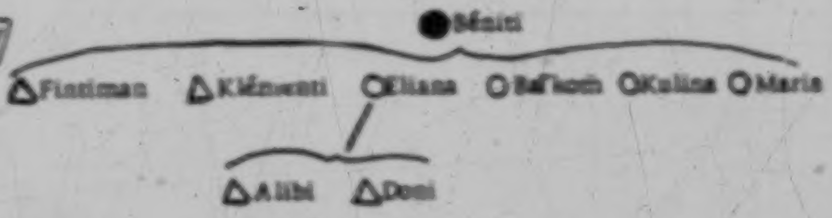
[602] On the seventh day an intimate ceremony brings together Béniti's children and grandchildren in her daughter Kulina's house, where she died. After an offering of food, they weep and lament a last time. Then Fintiman, her elder son, repeats the formula of separation:

"We have done with you; stay where God has put you."

Lifting of mourning for Béniti. Division of expenditures. Béniti belonged to the fraction of the Dju lineage settled in
● [613] Boniville; the principal weight of the mourning therefore had
[621] to be borne by that fraction, the other (the one in Asisi) bringing a symbolic contribution.

Béniti left two sons and two adult grandsons:

[60]



/188/ Actually the elder son Fintiman paid half the expense himself, the younger son being ill and without regular
[431] resources. No contribution in money is asked of the women, who must, on the other hand, draw substantial amounts from their rice stock.

/188 cont. /

765 431 Nearly half of the tafia was brought to the mortuary shed to serve for the dances, the other half was distributed to visitors in the course of calls of personal interest that they were coming to make on the village people at home.

Bfaiti's three sons-in-law each gave three liters of tafia.

[613] The Boniville men belonging to other lineages each gave one liter, except the two principal basia (assistants to the grand man for the internal running of the village), Todo and Tofiow, who gave two liters each. Besides, each one kept one or two liters to offer to callers at their homes.

[613] As for the men of the Dju lo of Asisi, they brought one liter each, including the head of the lineage.

All the Boniville women and all the women of Asisi-Dju brought their contributions in the form of food.

In all about 150 adult visitors came.

765 293 One can estimate that about 200 liters of tafia were drunk, or a little more than a liter per person, which, for five days of festivities, is not enormous.

But since some drink very little, one can estimate that those most given to drunkenness drank up to three and four liters.

Inheritance

428 613 The custom of the Refugee Blacks, hostile to all that might divide the matrilineage, cannot accept the notion of a single heir entering into possession of all the property of the dead person and replacing him in his functions. This idea of the only heir considered as a substitute for the dead person, as it exists among the Bamiléké, which leads toward the individualization of one line within the lineage, can be regarded as the extreme opposite of the thought of the Refugee Blacks.

/188 cont./

428 [613] In the custom of the Refugee Blacks, the inheritance must be dispersed among the members of the dead person's matrilineage in the strict sense (bee) and his children. /
/189/ The custom of numerous African societies has it that the men inherit from men and the women from women. This notion is totally contrary to the legal thought of the Refugee Blacks. A house, an object, a boat, may pass from a man to a woman or conversely. It is the same with the lower gods with which the dead person might have been possessed.

428 789 764 If the dead person has not indicated before his death, in front of witnesses, the distribution of his property, the same divinatory procedure is used as for the determination of the causes of death: the coffin being carried on the heads of two men, in front of it are lined up the members of the dead person's matrilineage in the restricted sense and his children. The president of the *Boni kuutu* asks: "To whom dost thou leave thy house?" The coffin moves toward one of those present, then: "To whom dost thou leave thy boat?" "To whom dost thou leave thy gun?" "To whom dost thou leave thy clearings being harvested?"

428 The partial heirs thus designated may enter immediately into possession of their legacies.

428 765 Reserved are what the Boni call the "equipment" of the dead person, that is, his personal belongings, linen, money, which will be divided up after the lifting of mourning.

The customary rule is the following:

[602] For the duration of the mourning, these objects shut up in a trunk are put under the care of the eldest child if a woman was concerned, of the eldest classificatory nephew if a man was concerned. 428 602 After the lifting of mourning, the distribution is made by the dead person's mother, if she is still alive, if not by the eldest of the classificatory uncles or aunts, and if they all are dead, by the eldest of the surviving classificatory brothers or sisters of the dead person.

/189 cont./

428 Example: When △ Atikati (Dju, E18) died in 1953, about 75 years old, his house went to his sister Adyodya (E19), his gun to Kéwéma (G10), his boat to his classificatory sister Akiki (E23), aged 85.

602 Upon the lifting of mourning for Atikati, it was Akiki, by reason of being the eldest of the surviving classificatory sisters, who distributed his personal belongings and his money; for example, an iron bracelet went to Sosoman (E14) (1).

1. See the genealogical table of the Dju lineage.

428 613 602 By seeing the division of this inheritance on the genealogical table, one realizes that classificatory kinship is not a useless word and that in fact, within the matrilineage (bee), the division is made strictly at random, without consideration of sex, age, or proximity of kinship, which is strictly normal, given the divinatory procedure used.

428 778 602 An analogous conclusion comes out of the study of the inheritance of gods; the Papa gadu god of the ancestress ○ Sapiké (D6) passed into Pamasa (E26), her kin in the seventh degree. Likewise the god Ampuku of △ Agoabuchi, passing from a man to a woman, went /190/ to Dabasi (G45), his kin in the tenth degree at least (Agoabuchi could not be placed with certainty on the genealogical table). The Kumanti god of △ Ammaen (D9) went to Achiké (F13).

428 Study of the inheritance of houses leads to analogous conclusions.

The only case where a certain systematization is seen to appear is that of inheriting from women having adult children. It seems (but this is not a legal *principle*) that these children receive the essential part of the inheritance.

/190 cont./

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A tendency which has appeared during recent years in connection with men consists in bequeathing during their lifetime the essential part of their property to the children they have raised.

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[789]
Inheritance of functions and powers. Upon the death of a lineage head, the yorka of the dead man is asked whom it wishes to see named. Then the council assembles to proceed with the nomination; it remains free in its choice, the will of the dead man beyond the grave does not have the force of law; but actually, it seems to be most often followed.

As for the function of captain which is common to all the fractions of one lo, the inheritance may pass from one fraction to another.

Ex.: for the Awara Bakka lo, the succession:
Asèmbay (Aw.B.2);
Pèèyon (Aw.B.1);
Kondoku (Aw.B.1).

000 /191/

CHAPTER VII

BELIEFS

Origin of the Beliefs of the Refugee Blacks

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128
The spiritual life of the Refugee Blacks of the Guianas is intimately bound up with their social life, and the division we are obliged to make for the sake of clearness of the account is very often arbitrary. So we shall try to point out these connections wherever they are essential.

/193 cont./

778
824 A currently widespread idea about animism would lead one to think, for example, that before felling a tree a Refugee Black addresses words and offerings to it. That is entirely absent from his thought: either this tree is likely to serve as support for a god, in which case it can be touched only after complex rites having the aim of transferring the god elsewhere, or it is simply a tree, and one cuts it down without further ado.

784
825 One very clear aspect of these conceptions is the dagu kunu, a curse resulting from the killing of a dog. Any animal may be killed with impunity but not a dog, because "a dog is almost a man."

● [813] At the opposite extreme from the true kunu, a curse extending to a whole lineage, the dagu kunu applies only to the guilty person and draws only limited misfortunes upon him.

[772] No feeling whatever with respect to the dog enters into this conception, but only the idea that he is placed on a particular plane, near the plane of the human and his level of force.

776 /194/ The Great Gods

The Boni recognize a supreme God, Nana (1), more

1. This term comes from the Agni.

commonly called Masa Gado, and Kedi Amu, Kediampon in Kumenti language. He created the lower gods and all that lives on the earth.

793 Here is how the old Boni men relate the myth of the creation of the world:

God created a brother and sister, Adam and Ela. They were twins. He put them in a place where they lived happily without working. But he forbade them to touch the fruit of the custard-apple tree.

776 /*194 cont.*/

[184] The great gods Gwangwéla and Gédéfosu of the Djuka are not known to the Boni.

[774] Strictly speaking, no cult of Masa Gadu exists. No edifice is reserved for him, he has no priests, and no collective
776 ceremonies are conducted on his behalf. He is nevertheless
769 constantly present in the religious life of the Boni, associated with ancestor worship. Every ceremony of ancestor worship
776 includes an invocation to Masa Gadu. From time to time, for
769 specific motives such as the illness of a member of the *lo*,
755 people go /*195*/ specially to the *fraga tiki* to invoke Masa Gadu.
[613] The oldest man of the *lo* officiates, while a younger one pours
[798] a little water and tafia at the foot of the *fraga tiki*; the elder addresses Masa Gadu in everyday language, in simple terms, in a familiar conversational tone, asking him for the cure of illnesses or the end of calamities. Those present, seated in a semicircle, punctuate the end of the speech with some rhythmical applause, uttering the ritual formula of thanks: "*Gaã tãŋgi tãŋgi fi yu, Masa Gadu.*"

776
782 Outside of these ceremonies which hardly go beyond the framework of the lineage, everyone may address Masa Gadu directly by praying aloud, if, for example, he finds himself alone in the bush and prey to an illness. One never addresses Masa Gadu other than for a specific material purpose. Inner prayer for the purpose of spiritual perfection does not exist to our knowledge among the Refugee Blacks.

776
[755]
[784] One applies directly to Masa Gadu when one believes oneself to be the victim of an iniquitous action (see curse). However, although the Refugee Blacks have a very lively sense of justice, they never call Masa Gadu to witness for the cruel and arbitrary vengeances (*kunu*) which the lower divinities are
[812] believed to exercise on them. It is taken for granted that all these divinities do conforms to the role which Masa Gadu has assigned to them and that the suffering they inflict on men is indispensable to the proper working of the universe.

/196 cont./

784 Odun's punishment is not regarded as immediate. It may be delayed for a certain number of years for reasons known to him alone, but it will necessarily take place.

683 783 Violence can be pardoned if the guilty one repents and makes an offering. The reparative offering (for example, if someone has threatened his adversary with a machete or has struck him to the point of making blood flow) is a demijohn of tafia or a certain quantity of tobacco leaves displayed in Odun's chapel.

754 784 But there is no pardon for the wisimã. Even if men pardon, Odun remains pitiless. Thus nobody can admit being guilty of wisi, for there is no possible reparation; besides, no one would dare beg for Odun's mercy on behalf of a wisimã, for this would be to associate oneself with him and expose oneself to being struck by the god in the same way.

[683 764] The wisimã will be killed by Odun, and men will have to share in the punishing by refusing the body burial in the cemetery and by going to throw it in the bush. If they /197/ refused to obey this law, Odun would consider that they denied his doctrine and would strike them down either in person or by killing any member of the guilty lineage.

Thus, when in 1952 an old woman named A... of the Lapé lineage, who had settled in the Creole village Hermina, died, it appeared that she had wisi; but since she had been living among the Creoles, her near relatives did not dare intervene, and she was buried in the Hermina cemetery. Several ● [613] years passed without incident, then misfortunes cropped up; deaths which took place in the lineage, especially that of P... (1955) and T... (1957), and an accident that happened to a child in 1958, were recognized as punishments carried out by Odun upon the Lapé lineage.

346 The place of worship of Odun is a tiny chapel near the grand man's house. It contains only a post crudely carved in the shape of a bust, without any decoration.

B S 648 S 771

/197 cont./

Odun's laws create an irreducible cleavage between the Refugee Blacks and the Creoles. The Creoles of Surinam, like the West Indian gold miners of the Maroni, profess Christianity, but they have a special conception of it, associating with Christian ideas /198/ beliefs of various origins and often magic practices. If in quasi-totality they reject magic aimed at doing harm without reason, they take very generally for granted:

--Counter sorcery inspired by vengeance;

--"Invocations" to the spirits of the dead and divers magic formulas in which it is believed one captures the vital force of these spirits in order to make practical use of it;

--Charms having the purpose of forcing the love of a person one desires.

B S 771 648

The Creoles are as attached to these conceptions as the Refugee Blacks to the laws of Odun, which are absolutely contrary to them. They have such importance in the thought of both that it would be unthinkable to make a group of Creoles and a group of Refugee Blacks live together for any appreciable length of time integrated into the same organization. Attempts made to do this, especially in Surinam, have always failed. When an economic activity engages them in the same work in the same locality, Creoles and Refugee Blacks form two separate groupings, each living according to its own law.

B 167 754 [782] [613]

If Refugee Blacks leave their group for any great length of time to settle in the midst of Creoles, if they do not come back periodically to renew the oath of Odun, it is taken for granted that they have abjured his laws and that they are suspect of wisi. It happens that people who have spent a whole portion of their lives in the midst of the Creoles come back to live in their native village because they are prey to adversity or sickness; they are always welcomed (the lineage cannot expel one of its members), but chances are great that they will be declared wisimā upon their death. This was especially the case with an

787 /301 cont./

791 776 [613] [784] The elders then consulted the oracles and perceived that Mimi was victim of an Ampuku named Maogan which for a very long time had been pursuing the Kotika lineage with its vengeance (kunu). In order to protect herself, she sought to have herself given a more powerful god, and she became the pupil of an obiaman specialist in the cult of the Papa gadu. In this way she [782] had a Papa gadu named Ayaémé, divinity of beneficent character to which, in difficult cases, her family applies in order [346] to obtain advice, protection, and remedies. She had a little hut built beside her house, where the god goes to rest when it has finished each of its trips to the country of men. Ayaémé [784] imposed on Mimi its kina which concerns a fish. But even with all this she was not rid of her kunu of the Ampuku; and one day, something it had not yet done, the latter revealed itself in her [784] and spoke through her mouth. It announced that it would continue to exercise its kunu against the Kotika lineage. They ap- [782] peased it by sacrifices of red cloth and beer; since then, it seems calm and in rather good humor. It comes into Mimi from time to time and speaks in Saramaka language. They are very afraid of it, but they do not hesitate to question it and ask it for [784] remedies, which it sometimes indicates. It laid on Mimi three gadu kina concerning the acouchy, the agami, and the armadillo.

791 787 794 Organization of the cults of possession. Strictly speaking, no religious brotherhoods exist in Boni country; there are only teachers - bas(2) - who have received their power from another

2. It does not seem advisable to translate this word by "priest." In the minds of the Refugee Blacks, this is a matter of a teacher teaching pupils; they use the same word to designate a European or Creole schoolmaster.

/204 cont./

776 789 825 This shows that in the minds of the Refugee Blacks, the animal is simply a prop for the god. The god borrows this body in order to manifest itself, but it is not bound to it by nature. These conceptions are totally contrary to those of the Indians, who tend to personify in their minds the beings and phenomena of nature.

776 789 As we have said, the Boni do not see these gods since the person possessed loses consciousness. But in the time of the ancestors, there were people who used to see the gods, and it is through them that their present-day descendants have an idea of their appearance; on the other hand, certain gods such as the Ampuku and the Bônsuəki may be seen in dreams.

Sometimes the residence of this or that god is known, for it has revealed it through the mouth of its bearer; the god's
[823] name is then given to that place. For example, at the mouth of the Abounami there is a fall named Ma Akoti Gadu Sula. It is there that the god resides which revealed itself in olden days in an old woman named Akoti.

776 613 Connections with the group of relatives. The idea of a god protector of the lineage, whose worship, brought by the founder of the group, is regarded as indispensable to the life of the collectivity, is not found clearly among the Refugee Blacks. There are actually many divinities which have entered the lineage and which are worshiped collectively. But these di-
[784] vinities are intruders; they have penetrated into the group by force in order to exert an inexorable vengeance against it.
[282] People do not apply to them to ask for protection, and they are worshiped only because they cannot be expelled.

776 602 /205/ There is not believed to be any kinship tie between the gods and men, nor any tie of a systematic or exclusive character.

/205 cont. /

776 613 428 [787] Still, they assume that the gods that have entered a matrilineage tend to be transmitted within this group. If, for example, a woman is possessed by a *Papa gadu*, at her death she must bequeath it in the same way as her property, and she can bequeath it only to someone of her lineage.

We have seen in studying the transmission of the god of Kotolda († 1956), that only the women of the Afi lineage to which she belonged could inherit.

776 613 984 Even if the god is not bequeathed, which sometimes happens, if it exercises the *kunu*, it will manifest itself sooner or later in a member of the lineage. But long years may pass before it shows itself. This conception is absolutely clear to the Refugee Blacks, and furthermore, if it did not exist, the idea of the *kunu* would be without support. [114] [428] People have therefore wrongly believed in a transmission of gods from father to son.

346 787 794 613 Material organization of cults. A material organization of the cults of possession exists within the limits of the localized lineage (*lo*). This organization is completely independent of the apprenticeship of these cults. It permits the members of the lineage to easily practice cults they have received anywhere, on their own responsibility.

In each *lo* there exists in general one single chapel (*obia ɔsu*) for all the divinities of the same category.

For example in the Awara Bakka *lo* quarter in Asisi (140 persons), for about 15 women having a *Papa gadu*, there exists only a single one. There is an *obia ɔsu* for the *Ampuku* (three or four possessed persons) and another for the *Kumɛnti* (about ten possessed people).

The chapel of the *Papa gadu* is placed under the responsibility of the head of the *lo*. On this subject it is to be noted that the individualized lineages Aw.B.3 and Afi, which however have separate gods, are included in this organization.

/205 cont./

346 794 787 613 [293] The objects placed in these chapels are simply the clothing, beverage, and tools of the gods when they come to visit men; they correspond nearly to what the Refugee Blacks leave in a farming habitation where they go to work regularly. For example, in the Papa gadu ɔsu of the Awara Bakka quarter of Asisi, which serves for about 15 gods, each one has a definite place on the shelves to lay out especially the scarf which serves it as a garment and a bottle of beer (a bottle is always kept in readiness by the bearer of the god) (1).

1. The Papa gadu do not like tafia. If the usual bearer of one of these gods has drunk tafia, it cannot come into him.

[534] They still stow the Papa dɔ̃ drum in this chapel. This drum, like the chapel itself, is believed to belong to the Papa gadu god which first came into a member of the lineage to exercise the kunu. [428] In the example mentioned of the Awara /206/ Bakka lo of Asisi, in 1957 it was the centenarian grandmother Kuluba who had borne this god since her youth, having herself received it, by several successive transmissions, from a distant ancestress.

[621] In villages like Boniville and Papaïston where fragments of lineage of entirely different origins coexist, each has its own organization.

For example in Boniville there is a Papa gadu ɔsu for the fragment of the Lapé lineage (it belongs to Térésa whose god exercises the kunu on this lineage). The fragment of the lineage has another.

In Papaïston the Toïna (Bakabuchi) lineage, reduced to half a dozen persons, has a Papa gadu ɔsu of its own.

/219 cont./

769 We have described the principal ceremonies of this worship in speaking of family life.

769
613 One addresses only his near ancestors in maternal line, and one addresses them all collectively. Just as the custom of the Refugee Blacks rejects all that might individualize one line within a lineage, it rejects every individual bond between a given dead person and a given living person. Just as "uncles" exercise guardianship collectively over "nephews," the dead collectively protect the living. It would be a grave offense against the customary law of the Refugee Blacks to go individually to the fraga tiki to invoke the yorka of one or another of his relatives. [784] We shall see further on that the only exception to this is for the ancestors who have made themselves conspicuous by exercising the kunu against another lineage.

Ancestor worship is organized within the lo, and its priest is the head of the lo, bedemi or captain. Individualized fractions (bee) which may exist within the lo, like Papaïston 2, have no separate ancestor worship.

769
778 The place of prayer is made up of a small square of ground about 1 meter x 1 meter, separated from village soil by pieces of boards; in the middle of this square is set a T-shaped post whose horizontal arm serves as support for a square of white cloth: this is the fraga tiki.

The cloth rots rapidly under the influence of bad weather, but it is not removed; a new one is attached over the old when it is too spoiled; likewise /220/ the post, which ends up by rotting, is not replaced as long as it does not fall to the ground. This behavior might be thought to be negligence, but it is nothing of the sort: for the Refugee Blacks, what has been offered to the ancestors is removed from the action of men; no one can touch it any more, even to repair it.

/220 cont./

769 778 Beside the principal fraga tiki one sometimes sees sticks bearing fragments of white cloth; they have been planted in honor of those ancestors who have demanded it.

769 778 782 The ceremonies at the fraga tiki have a very simple character; prayers are said in the ordinary language and often have the character of an intimate conversation. In the absence of the head of the lineage, an old man pronounces them; while he speaks, an assistant makes the offering of water and tafia. Pouring water on the ground is a rite having as its purpose entering into contact with the ancestors; it is seen performed in funeral ceremonies, before beginning the interrogation of the yorka. The tafia is an offering in the literal sense of the term; at the time of the principal prayers being addressed to the ancestors, the offering of tafia is preceded by an offering of cane [274] juice, kyẽ wata. Cane juice was the beverage on feast days in the times when the ancestors, at war with the Europeans, were bereft of tafia.

The prayer formulas most commonly used ask the ancestors to intercede with Masa gadu on behalf of their descendants: "Ancestors, watch over us, protect us, pray to Masa gadu for us so that....".

769 787 613 Possession by a yorka. It is taken for granted that the yorka of an ancestor can enter into a member of his matrilineage and reveal itself in the course of attacks of possession. This is a very rare phenomenon. In 1958, in all the Boni country, only about ten people were known who bore thus the yorka of an ancestor. These attacks come on spontaneously, no cult having their provocation as its purpose. We were present in December, 1956 at one of these attacks in a young woman from Papaïston, Mili, about 20 years old. Since the day before, the yorka of an ancestor of the lineage dead for two generations had manifested itself in her intermittently; these attacks lasted several minutes;

/821 cont./

775 828 [184] "My nẽmseki is So-and-So." Mr. W. F. van Lier, speaking of the Djuka who have much clearer conceptions on religious questions, gives an important clarification: in 1915 Grand Man Odisi became incarnate in a newborn baby of the tribe, nevertheless he continues to be invoked as an ancestor before the fraga tiki. It seems, then, that it is a case of certain elements of the personality which are believed to be reincarnated, and not of the yɔrka as a whole.

787 It is important to distinguish the nẽmseki from possession by a yɔrka. Possession by a yɔrka is an exceptional occurrence which is manifested in the form of trances, the yɔrka speaking through the mouth of its bearer; outside of these possessions, this yɔrka is believed to reside in the abode of the ancestors.

[613] A yɔrka can reveal itself thus only in a person of its matrilineage.

775 828 The nẽmseki, on the contrary, exists in all men. The ancestor who is thus partially reincarnated is generally on the paternal side, but this is not an absolute rule.

A man is not conscious of his nẽmseki and is acquainted with it only because his parents have revealed it to him. This nẽmseki does not manifest itself in anything in everyday life; it does not impose any kina whatever and does not ask for offerings. However, when a young child falls ill, divination [753] [755] may reveal that it is the doing of the nẽmseki which is indignant at being misunderstood. People hurry then, always with the help of divination, to find out the name of the nẽmseki, proceeding by elimination. As a general rule, they allow themselves to be guided by resemblances of physiognomy, birthmarks calling to mind, for example, certain scars of the dead ancestor.

It is believed that the older a man is when he dies, the more time he will allow to elapse before being reincarnated.

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Relations between Gods and Men

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The *kunu*

The kunu. The Refugee Blacks call *kunu* the collective curse which has weighed on a matrilineage since an ancient offense. The *kunu* is without time limit, without pardon, without pity, blind in the choice of its victims; in principle, it can end only with the complete extermination of the lineage. Each time that adversity swoops down on one of its members in the form of death, sickness, various calamities, the *kunu* is the most frequently obtained explanation. The instrument of this inexpiable vengeance is either a god or the *yorka* (spirit) of a dead person.

[753]
[761]

784 613 171 This notion, which occupies a central position in the beliefs of the Refugee Blacks, does not appear to have been borrowed directly. Most of the populations of Dahomey /222/ and the Ivory Coast take for granted the idea of arbitrary punishments exercised upon the members of the lineage by the gods or the ancestors of the group. But no population of these regions has, to our knowledge, developed so highly systematized a doctrine.

784 571 The conceptions developed by the Refugee Blacks, divinities impelled exclusively by vengeance, and especially ancestors inexorably chastising lineages other than their own, have created new relationships among individuals and among lineages.

784 We have not been able to elucidate the origin of the word *kunu*. Perhaps it is a deformation of the Mina word *ekunu*, which means burial.

776 784 781 Three categories of divinities can pursue men with their *kunu*, and because of this fact the Refugee Blacks feel toward them an extreme terror mixed with veneration.

/222 cont./

776 784 613 [825] [789] --The Papa gadu (Vɔdũ). The kunu that one of them exercises upon a lineage comes uniformly from the fact that in times past, one of the ancestors had inadvertently killed a dagowe snake (boa), usual bearer of the Papa gadu. For example, the snake might have perished in the burning of a clearing. Some time after, the god had possessed a member of the lineage and revealed that henceforth it would exercise a kunu;

--The Ampuku. The kunu of an Ampuku begins in an analogous way; in days gone by an ancestor had, for example, cut a katu tree without performing the rites suitably, or had made a clearing in a place where an Ampuku was residing;

--The Kãntamasu (who call themselves Akɔio), gods of the termitaries, much feared, may exercise a kunu if, before cutting a clearing, someone has, in spite of all his searching, allowed a termitary to escape him, which thus was not the object of the indispensable rite;

775 784 613 762 --Finally, the kunu may be brought by a dead person's yɔrka. For example, a man of lineage A had once upon a time unjustly accused a man of lineage B. The latter committed suicide out of revenge. The meaning of this act is not the same as in Europe. It is not a question of making one's enemies live in shame and remorse, but by sacrificing one's life to cause an eternal vengeance to be wreaked upon one's enemies. Some time after the suicide, the yɔrka reveals itself in a man of his lineage and announces that it will pursue the members of lineage A eternally with its kunu.

784 Thus the offenses which the kunu punishes are not moral sins as we understand them, but involuntary acts without inner meaning. The purifications and sacrifices demanded are likewise purely exterior acts.

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114 784 The various works treating of the Refugee Blacks point out well the importance of the kunu, but it seems to us that the functioning of this institution (for in fact a social institution is certainly concerned here) has not been clearly understood.

784 613 A kunu is attached to a matrilineage in the limited sense (bêe). It extends obligatorily to all the members of the matrilineage and can strike only them.

For example, my kunu can strike my sister's son but not my wife nor my children (they are subject to the kunu of their own lineage). /223/

[782] [571] The kunu, striking the lineage as a whole, can be appeased only by prayers uniting (at least in principle) the whole lineage. That is the respect in which the kunu may be defined as a social institution, for it is, we shall see, the principal cement holding the groups together.

784 613 782 The unleashing of a kunu does not necessarily and immediately follow the destruction of a termitary or the death of a dagowe snake. The god thus offended avenges itself by making a certain number of members of the lineage sick and by causing limited misfortunes to happen. When things are at that point the kunu can still be exorcised by prayers and offerings. In 1957 the beginning of a kunu was manifesting itself thus in the Awara Bakka lineage of Asisi; very frightened, the members of the lineage made offerings and prayers to exorcise it.

784 613 [693] [761] [428] But if the lineage people neglect the warnings of the god, if through laziness or selfishness too great a number of them are absent from the collective prayers and do not take part in the offerings, prayers and offerings will be refused and the god will kill one of them. From then on the kunu is unleashed and can no longer leave the lineage. Its involuntary bearer will have to bequeath it upon his death to a member of the lineage, who cannot refuse this legacy and must immediately

/223 cont./

784 begin his instruction in order to become a suitable bearer. (If
613 this procedure were not carried out, the god would not cease
428 its kunu at all, and the possibility of entering into contact with
it and appeasing it would be lost. Besides, sooner or later it
would come back into a member of the lineage.)

784 The kunu strikes without regard to kinship ties, even if
613 kinship between the bearer of the god and the supposed victim
[602] is very distant. Ex.: The Papa gadu of Donasi (Papaliston lo)
struck a young woman, Gou, with illness in January, 1957.
Donasi and Gou are only relatives in the ninth degree. The
[782] members of the entire Papaliston lineage assembled to supplicate
[361] the god: even people of Wétiti village in the lower Maroni
came.

775 The kunu exercised by the yɔrka of a dead person has a
784 special importance in the eyes of the Refugee Blacks, for it has
613 profound repercussions on the relations among the lineages.

In principle, the yɔrka exercising a kunu has as bearer
[428] a living member of its own lineage, who will bequeath it at his
death. But it is also possible that the yɔrka may take as bearer
a member of the lineage upon which it exercises the kunu.

[782] In both cases, the rite to appease the yɔrka is the same;
the yɔrka can be invoked effectively only by the members of its
own lineage, since one can pray (at least in principle) only to
one's own maternal ancestors.

When matrilineage A is struck by the kunu exercised by a
yɔrka of matrilineage B, its members thereupon go to consult
the elders of matrilineage A /sic/ and ask them to try to calm
[769] the anger of their ancestor. The members of lineage A assemble
[778] around the fraga tiki of lineage B, in back of the elders of this
[787] lineage, in the presence of the bearer of the yɔrka, who calls
on his gita, goes into trances and prophesying. The yɔrka
[782] usually asks for an offering of cane juice and tafia, which is
made at the foot of the /224/ fraga tiki by the elders of lineage
B (for the rite to be efficacious, the offering must have been
furnished by lineage A).

[224 cont.]

775 784 769 778 613 A yorka exercising a kunu may also demand that another smaller fraga tiki be erected for it beside the principal fraga tiki of its lo. In the villages of the Refugee Blacks one often sees those little crosses provided with white veils like the main fraga tiki, planted beside it a little obliquely.

775 754 674 The notion of the kunu exercised by a yorka explains the rarity of murder among the Refugee Blacks. How would you dare to kill someone when, as soon as it is freed from his body, his yorka will have full latitude to make you sick, to make tree branches fall across your path, to cause to suffer and to kill all those dear to you? 775 784 762 If someone is blinded by hate, it is the idea of suicide which will dominate him. In October, 1952 we were able to observe this reaction in a man who had just been subject to a deep humiliation: "I am going to kill my body in order to go to kill that man and his whole family," he said to us, prey to a fit of rage; fortunately, when the fit had passed, he came back to a more sound outlook on things.

775 784 613 696 [171] It is to be noted that a yorka cannot exercise a kunu against its own lineage. This notion explains why, in the times when they exercised absolute authority, tribal chiefs had those condemned to death executed by men of the same lineage. Apparently similar practices were the rule in olden days in several African kingdoms, which allows one to think that notions analogous to those of the kunu may be rather widespread there.

784 613 Situation of the various lineages with respect to the kunu. There we touch on one of the most secret aspects of the social life of the Refugee Blacks. Years of living among them are necessary in order to obtain precise information on the nature and the mode of action of the kunu acting on the various lineages.

784 613 428 Nearly all the entities which now exercise their kunu on the Boni have been in their lineages since a very ancient period, to the point where the name of their first bearer is forgotten. They are transmitted inexorably from generation to generation. In the course of the ages, the kunu have accumulated, and now certain lineages are living with four, five, or even six kunu.

/224 cont./

784 Kunu of the Dju lineage. The Dju lineage in 1958 was affected
613 by four kunu:

776 --An Ampuku which has exercised its vengeance since
787 time immemorial, to the point where the origin of this kunu is no longer remembered, its bearers being Dabisa (G25) and Adyidya (E19), two women about 50 years old. This Ampuku formerly had as its bearer an ancestor named Agoabuchi, who died about 1940. Two or three years after his death, it manifested itself in Dabisa;

--A Papa gadu named Adawa which has also pursued the lineage with a pitiless vengeance since the time of the great ancestors. It revealed itself to the preceding generation in an ancestress named Sapiké (D5), and a long time after her death it passed into Pamasa (E26), a woman of 35. This kunu has grown worse since /225/ two other Papa gadu revealed themselves in recent years in two women named Kulina (F9) and Diana (E9). They declared that they were the descendants of the first one and that they came in support of it;

784 --A yarka whose name nobody wanted to tell us because
613 they were so afraid of it. It is that of a man of the Awara Bakka
775 lineage, who committed suicide two or three generations ago
787 when he was unjustly accused of a crime by a man of the Dju
[162] lineage. Since then, this yarka has been exterminating the Dju lineage little by little. Its bearer in 1958 was an old woman of the Awara Bakka lineage, named Namu;

784 --A Kantamasu since, a very long time ago, an ancestress
613 whose name is forgotten inadvertently destroyed a termitary
776 while burning a clearing. It had as bearer a very old woman
787 named Wima (E3) († 1957), and it manifested itself also in Ata (F2).

784 Thus, in this group, the maleficent gods had exclusively
613 women as bearers; out of about 20 adult women, seven were
787 participating in the functioning of the kunu.
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/785 cont. /

784 613 787 562 One sees from this example how the influence of women, exerted in arbitrary fashion, in a domain placed outside of custom and ordinary social life, weighs on the life of the group.

779 619 571 Kunu of the Dipélu lineage. The situation of the Dipélu lineage with respect to the kunu is particularly interesting. Although split for perhaps 100 years into two separate groups, Dipélu I (L'Enfant Perdu and Apatu villages) and Dipélu II (Kormotibo and Assi-Dip. II villages), this group still constitutes an undivided unit with respect to the kunu. Neither time nor [484] distance (it takes more than a week of traveling to make the round trip between L'Enfant Perdu and Apatu) has been able to [155] break it up. The Apatu people come very often (at least some of them) to be present at the collective prayers which take place at L'Enfant Perdu to appease a kunu in order to cure a sick person.

779 614 226 [787] The oldest kunu ("since Africa") is that of a Papa gadu god whose bearer was ○ Dikaa (Dip. I. D10. † 1951) and which passed after her death into ○ Péchina (Dip. I. E42. L'Enfant Perdu village). This kunu strikes indiscriminately the people of L'Enfant Perdu, Apatu, Kormotibo, Assi-Dip. II. and the Dipélu fraction residing in Boniville. To it, these past years, [761] have been attributed the death of ○ Way (Dip. I. E6. living [753] in Boniville), the illness of △ Akwali (Dip. II. F7. Kormotibo village) and of ○ Bongo (same village).

779 775 614 [illegible] Another very old kunu is the one exercised by the yɔrka of a Surinam Creole who had settled with the Dipélu people a very long time ago. He was suspected of sorcery and killed. Since then his yɔrka comes back regularly to exterminate the Dipélu.

/226 cont./

628 The members of the Dipèlu lineage did not believe a
614 word of this affair, convinced that Kiboya, a proud and scheming
784 woman, had pretended the gita to make herself interesting.
787 Nevertheless, to bring back peace, they decided to go to Asisi
152 and to ask pardon in front of the fraga tiki, pouring tafia,
768 asking the ancestors not to take vengeance, the living being
778 reconciled.

784 /227/ (Note that in this affair, the yorka manifests itself in a
614 member of the lineage on which it exercises the kunu.)
775

784 Kunu of the Awara Bakka lineage. The Awara Bakka lineage
614 does not form a unit with respect to the kunu, and the situation
● 613 of its fractions is particularly interesting. This lineage includes:

--A principal fraction (Aw.B.1);

--A fraction whose kinship ties with the first are forgotten (Aw.B.2), whose position with respect to the kunu we have not been able to define.

--Finally, a group descended from Ankta, Djuka woman, wife of Pééyon † (Aw.B.1) settled in Asisi with her descendants in uterine line. We have called this group Aw.B.3. It has a separate kunu originating in the Djuka village of Tabiki where Ankta came from.

784 The Awara Bakka I, all living in Asisi village, had to
787 our knowledge three kunu in 1957:
776 --One exercised by a Papa gadu god, borne up to 1957
613 by ○ Kuluba (Aw.B.1, D1). At her death in April, 1957,
428 she bequeathed it, contrary to custom, to a person of another
fraction, Summa (Aw.B.3). But the god did not ratify this
legacy and, in January, 1958, it manifested itself in ○ Léna
(Aw.B.1, F52), thus remaining in the same lineage;

/227 cont./

784 --A second, very old *kunu* is exercised by a *yorka* of the
776 Dipélu II lo. Gy...., dead so long that he cannot be placed on
787 the genealogical table; it, too, had as bearer a member of the
613 lineage on which it was exercising the *kunu*. ○ Akumuyé
617 (Aw.B.1. D17) † 1957.

Thus the Awara Bakka and Dipélu lineages exercise the *kunu* reciprocally one against the other;

784 --A third *kunu* of recent origin is exercised by a *Papa*
776 *gadu* god which had as bearer in 1957 ○ Irma (Aw.B.1. E37).
613 It results from the inadvertent killing of a *Dagowe* /*sic*/ snake
(789) by ○ Tawa, Irma's brother. At the end of 1957 this *kunu*
(753) had yet brought on only illnesses of such a kind that people could still hope to exorcise it.

784 The Aw.B.3 group has a special *kunu* of its own and
613 considers itself out of reach of the *kunu* of the Aw.B.1.

Anhta, originating in the Djuka village of Tabiki, is subject to the *kunu* of that lineage as are all her descendants in
(782) uterine line. On occasion of serious illnesses the latter have sometimes had to go to Tabiki village to supplicate the *kunu*.

(602) This *kunu* is the one of a god borne by Akanté, Anhta's daughter. In September, 1956, Summa, Akanté's daughter,
(787) was sick. The god revealed that this was its doing. It was
(782) supplicated (the other fractions joined the group) and she then got well.

613 *Kunu of the Afi lineage.* The descendants of Āfi † (woman
621 coming from the tribe of the Bakabuchi of Surinam) live for the most part in Assisi in close symbiosis with the /228/ Awara Bakka lineage. They are in a situation analogous to that of Anhta's descendants (Aw.B.3) but, perhaps by the simple fact of their number, they form a more individualized unit.

/528 cont./

784 613 662 776 787 They are the object of three kunu:

--One exercised by a Papa gado god whose bearer up into 1956 was Kondida († Oct. 1956), who bequeathed it to ○ Mani (Afi lineage, 612).

784 776 613 --The other exercised by a yorka of the Lapé lineage. This kunu dates from about 60 years ago; Aléman (Afi lineage, b3, Kormotibo village), 80 years old in 1957, had when he was young cut a clearing in a place which was found to be an old abandoned Boni cemetery (opposite Maripasoula). [789] Some time afterward, a yorka revealed itself in a woman of the Lapé lineage, saying that it was exercising a kunu against the family of the sacrilegious person.

[761] It is to this yorka, whose bearer is M... (12, Boniville), that the death of Kondida in October, 1956 is especially attributed.

--A third kunu is exercised by A.... of the Papalison 2 [684] lineage. A... had committed pikado. Surprised by Aléman (Afi lineage), he had paid the latter to obtain his silence. [762] But Aléman had talked. Dishonored, A... committed suicide with a gunshot; some time afterward his yorka revealed itself in Aléman; it exercises a kunu on this lineage.

613 614 784 Situation of the other lineages with respect to the kunu. The Papalison lineage is divided into two groups: Papalison 1 (the principal one) and Papalison 2, of which there remain only three living members: two women and one young man. This remainder of a lineage continues to bear its own kunu, which is unique and separate from that of the principal group.

The principal group forms a unit with respect to the kunu.

The Lapé lineage, cut from the point of view of genealogy into two pieces, forms a unit with respect to the kunu. We [614] have been able to collect only fragmentary information on the various kunu of this village.

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784 A kunu is exercised by a Dipélu yɔrka, borne in 1958 by
775 a Loka woman. It is invoked before the fraga tiki of l'Enfant
778 Perdu village (Dipélu I). Sometimes a broko dɛ is celebrated
769 for it in the same forms as the ceremony of the eighth day
613 after death.

784 We have likewise not been able to collect complete
613 information on the kunu of the Kotika lineage. This lineage,
114 divided into three fractions, forms a unit with respect to the
kunu.

784 A kunu is exercised by the yɔrka of a Surinam Creole
613 assassinated in former times by a member of the lineage. Its
775 bearer in 1958 was Todo (K1, E68), a man of the Kotika lo
789 living in Boniville. In 1958 a young woman of the lineage,
Awini (K1, E37), died suddenly; the yɔrka revealed that it
[761] had struck Awini because she had a liaison with Sintamann
[684] (K3, E145), thus committing pikádu. The idea of the collective
responsibility of the lineage is so deeply accepted by the Boni
that the near relatives of the dead woman did not reproach
Sintamann at all.

784 /229/ A yɔrka of the Kotika lineage may exercise a kunu on
613 the Djuka. This is the case of an affair going back to 1950;
775 a young woman died some time after having a serious discussion
761 with a Djuka woman who had hit her. Deaths among the Djuka
619 these last years had been attributed to its vengeance.

784 It seems that there is no other kunu exercised by a Djuka
upon a Boni lineage and vice versa. This is surprising, con-
619 sidering the fights which in former times set the two nations
613 against each other.

621 The Djuka and Saramaka living isolated in the midst
of the Boni know their kunu, which were revealed to them in
784 childhood. In case of sickness, they employ divinatory pro-
[755] cedures in order to know what kunu is concerned; then they
make offerings. But in case of serious illness, they are forced
[613] to go back to the village of origin of their lineage.

/229 cont./

784 The kunu and Boni family life. It follows from the detailed
● 613 examination we have just made of the situation of the various
[428] lineages that the transmission of the kunu within the uterine
kin group is a rigorous law which suffers no exception whatever.
[571] The process of assimilation which permits in a certain measure,
[602] on the social plane, the integration of fragments of paternal
kin (like Awara Bakka 3) into a group does not come into play
here. Unity with respect to the kunu can therefore be regarded
[611] as a rigorous criterion of a common matrilineal origin. The
[829] Boni feel it as an obvious fact and in such a case it is the proof
that comes to their minds: "We are of the same origin since
we have the same kunu."

784 Thus the kunu appears as the principal cement of the
613 unity of the groups. It opposes the dissociation of the lineages;
571 this curse which weighs collectively upon a group and which
182 can be exorcised only collectively is an iron bond which
nothing can break. It obliges the Refugee Blacks to surmount
their individualistic tendencies, their egoism which, if they
acted freely, would soon have scattered them into a dust of
[888] separate persons. In the face of adversity each one accepts
with good grace obedience to the elders, who alone know how
[672] to talk to the gods and appease them. Nobody ever is indignant
or even surprised to be struck down for the offense of another;
there is not a movement of revolt or hostility against the one
who by his inattention or inconsiderateness has brought on
misfortune. On this plane the members of a lineage feel like
cells of a single body.

784 The collective legal responsibility of the members of a
613 group in the domain of customary law flows from the kunu.
672 We have observed that several times, notably at the time of
the obsequies for Kotoïda (Afi lineage) in October, 1956.
The president of the lanti kuutu condemned the members of

/229 cont./

784 the Afi lineage to be thrashed symbolically for not having paid
• 613 sufficient attention to the warnings of the yɔrka which had
672 already made Kotoïda sick several times: by their negligence
they bore part of the responsibility for Kotoïda's death. Although the Afi and the Awara Bakka live together and regard themselves as members of one community, there was no question whatever of thrashing the Awara Bakka, and that because, not being subject to the same kunu, they bore no responsibility for this death. /230/

Likewise it is taken for granted that the descendants of Anèta (Aw.B. 3) do not share the legal responsibility of the Awara Bakka proper (fractions 1 and 2). The fact that Anéta was the wife of Pééyon, captain of the Aw.B., and that her descendants are completely integrated into the life of the village, does not modify this legal situation at all. At the time of the brawl between the Dipélu and the Awara Bakka in 1948, the Aw.B. 3 were not taken to task, any more than the members of the Afi lineage.

771 The relations of the Boni with the entities which are believed to pursue them are most interesting. They seek only to appease the divinity, to calm it provisionally, and to live with it in a state of armed peace, if one may say so.

784 When divination has shown that a certain calamity was
787 due to the kunu (sometimes the divinity in question reveals
it immediately, through the mouth of its bearer, before being
interrogated), it is asked why it struck: it always indicates a
precise reason: usually it appears to be inspired by arbitrariness
[776] and a pitiless despotism. The Refugee Blacks are not surprised
at this, for thus it is that they imagine the lower gods.

784 In 1948, A..., of the Dju lineage, fell ill; he felt
787 violent pains in his legs. Divination showed that it was the
776 doing of the Kɔ̃ntamasu, which was exercising its kunu upon

/230 cont./
784 the lineage; questioned, this god declared that it had something
787 to complain about in the bad condition of the house which the
776 members of the lineage had erected to it on its order; the roof
of leaves had not been changed and it was raining through.

784 It happens also, but as an exception, that the god has
sanctioned an offense against morals or more precisely, against
684 the social law, such as the breaking of an interdiction, pikadu
(incest in the wider sense, an offense against exogamy). It
is necessary to understand that in the thought of the Refugee
Blacks, incest unleashes the existing kunu but does not create
a new kunu.

In October, 1952, Dolo, a young man of 25 of the
Awara Bakka lo, died almost suddenly. Divination revealed
[787] that he had been killed by the kunu (it was a Papa gadu which
[761] had intervened) in order to sanction an offense committed
[613] some time previously by another member of the lo named P....
The latter, a notoriously depraved individual, had committed
incest with his own sister.

784 When the divinity has made known through the mouth
776 of its bearer the causes of its act, the assembled members of
782 the lineage implore it, ask it not to pursue its vengeance; the
divinity then requires an offering: for example, if it is a
[787] Papa gadu, it will require bottles of beer, some red and white
cloth which will be immersed in a given place in the river.
It may also require dances in its honor, celebrated by the
other possessed people in the village. If it is an Ampuku, it
will demand rum, dark-blue cloth which will be exposed in
a remote place in the forest. An offering of this kind represents a relatively small sum, even for the Boni (several
thousand francs in 1952). The god then declares itself appeased.
But it does not pardon and it will resume /231/ its vengeance
[183] at the first cause. Thus the Boni have hope only in a rigorous
776 observance of customary law and the rites. There are divinities
787 which appeared to be thus appeased for a long time and to

/232 cont./

75 It is important not to confuse the kunu with the sufferings
784 which other divinities can arbitrarily make men undergo. The
776 kunu has a systematic character. But a divinity theoretically
beneficent, and which has come into a man after being
called on, may also from time to time bring misfortunes if
such is its whim of the moment.

752 In 1949, G... (Dju) was busy cooking a crab in the
776 house of his mother D... A machete which was fastened to
784 the wall suddenly detached itself and wounded him in the right
hand. Now his mother had an Ampuku which had imposed
[787] the crab on her as kina. This Ampuku, immediately called
[428] on, revealed that it really was it which had struck G..., for
it did not like to see D...'s son eat crab (note that G... was
not at all held to the observance of this kina, for no kina is
transmitted from mother to son).

784 Neither must the kunu exercised by a yɔrka be confused
775 with the vengeance that a dead person can exercise against
● 613 the members of his own lineage in order to punish them for
769 having neglected their duties.

Punishment inflicted by an ancestor of the lineage seems
for the Boni to be a notion distinct from that of the kunu.
Vengeance exercised by a yɔrka upon its own lineage is regarded as exceptional and devoid of the inexorable and
definitive character of the kunu, but they assume it to be
[762] possible. They cited to us the case of Yali (Loka), who
committed suicide when accused of sorcery by the people
[753] of his lineage. Since then, his yɔrka has caused sicknesses
[761] and deaths in his own village.

776 Conversely, a god which exercises the kunu upon a
784 lineage may in certain cases intervene in favor of this lineage
613 if such is its whim of the moment. Thus the death of Diamanti
[761] (Aw.B.2, Asisi village, † in 1955) is attributed to the god
which exercises the kunu on the village of L'Enfant Perdu and
whose bearer was Péèchina. Diamanti had wronged someone
of this village and the god had intervened against her.

/232 cont./

787 In a general way, they consider that the bearer of a god
784 exercising the kunu has nothing to fear from it personally if he
776 rigorously observes the kina which have been imposed upon
him. On the other hand, this god will punish any injury to
[562] its bearer. Thus these bearers (almost always old women) live
[888] surrounded by respect and fear.

784 /233/ Observations in January, 1958 (misfortunes attributed to
769 vengeance of ancestors on their own lineage).

● 613 Do (Lapé) is taken ill on January 7, 1958 with a violent
775 attack of dysentery. The same day his five-year-old son is
grievously hurt at the wharf by falling on a broken bottle.
[787] Alarmed by this coincidence, the members of the Lapé lo
assemble and proceed to question a possessed person. The latter
reveals that it is the doing of an old woman of the lineage,
Atala, dead for two years. Several lineage members have already been sick from this; the dead woman wanted to sanction
offenses committed by the people of the lineage.

The same day in Boniville, Klémenti (Dju), to whom I
am recounting this affair, tells me that before the lifting of
mourning for his mother Béniti, he and his sisters were sick.
[787] Divination showed that i[illegible]as the doing of Béniti, who wished
to hasten the celebration of the ceremony.

784 The kunu and social peace among the Boni. Role of the grand
775 man. The kunu exercised by a yɔrka creates very strange re-
613 lations among the Boni lineages. As blind and arbitrary as the
591 vengeance attributed to the yɔrka may be, the Boni have the
sense of the legal unity of the lineage too much for any resentment to exist: "They are killing our family..."; and yet the
two lineages find themselves henceforth irreparably bound to-
[787] gether. The victims of the kunu can no longer get along without
people of the lineage of the yɔrka which pursues them with its
vengeance, since they alone, by their prayers, can appease
temporarily the anger of their ancestor. One conceives of the

784 /233 cont./ One conceives of the
775 interminable dissensions which this situation entails: if the
● 613 manifestations of the kunu do not cease, the victims let it be
578 understood that the prayers were badly made. . . . /Figure 28
appears here./

761 Every suspicious death whose circumstances lead to the
628 belief that /234/ an inhabitant of another village was responsi-
613 ble can bring on a punitive expedition against that village and
[784] other villages of the same kin group. By taking this vengeful
attitude even before the grand man has been notified and the blamed people heard, the people of the dead person's lineage are thinking above all else of taking precautions against the action of the dead person, who could turn back his vengeance
628 against them. Actually, these fights are above all symbolic; the wisdom of the Refugee Blacks has promulgated precepts which many nations could take as a pattern, in order that these punitive expeditions might not have serious consequences:

--One may strike only with the fists, and blood must not flow;

--Men may strike only men, while the women find fault with women;

--One may fight only on the village common and before witnesses, never in the bush or on the river. As a general rule, the people aimed at by the expedition do not resist, but flee into the bush or on the boats, or group themselves around the fraga tiki, holy place which the aggressors must respect.

628 We have told about the expedition made in April, 1957
613 by the people of Asisi-Awara Bakka against the villages of
L'Enfant Perdu (Dipélu I) and Kormotibo (Dipélu II). Eight years earlier, in 1949, another squabble had thrown the Dipélu against the Awara Bakka after the death of Pétikona (Dip. II), whom her husband Boofo had taken to Surinam and who had died there. The Kormotibo people claimed that Boofo was responsible for her death. They went to attack the people of Asisi who, although three times more numerous, did not try

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to resist and fled to Boniville, where some took refuge in the water, others in the bush. About ten shacks were broken (without great damage), principally kitchens and empty sheds. Only one man could be caught and he received several punches.

The expedition of April, 1957 against the villages of L'Enfant Perdu and Kormotibo did not do much more harm. Only one good house was smashed, that of Akwali (Dip. II, Kormotibo) because its owner, passing by in a boat on the river, insulted the aggressors....

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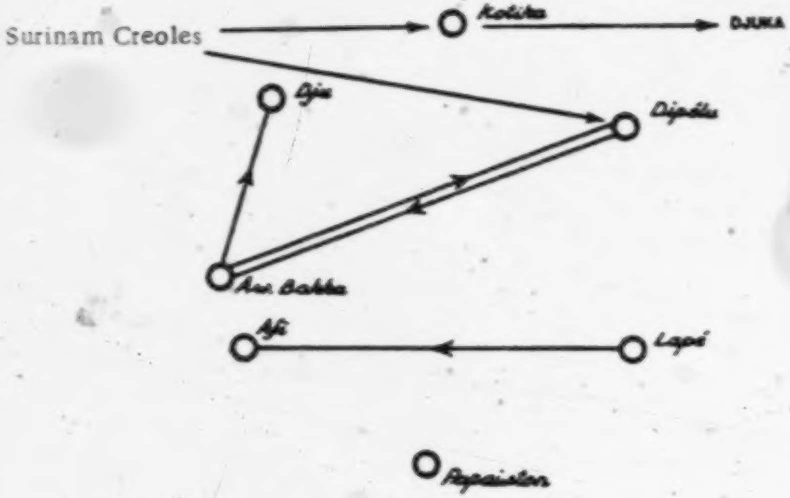

Fig..28. Schema of the kunu exercised upon one another by the various lineages.

/234 cont./

695 Fist-fighting is practiced also between individuals as a test for justification. If someone is unjustly accused of theft, this is the first idea which occurs to him, even before the oath before Odun. On this subject the Refugee Blacks have a conception analogous to that of the ancient Europeans, according to which God will come to the aid of the innocent person, giving him the strength of ten. This fighting, too, is subject to precise rules; it can be indulged in only publicly, in a village, never in the bush or on the river.

In spite of the importance attached to the oath before
Odun, Boni custom does not make provision for any test for
628 justification having a recognized legal value. This is what makes
● 613 the symbolic battle indispensable. Intervention is then asked
of the head of a neutral lineage in order to restore peace. If no death or calamity takes place allowing /235/ belief in the unappeased vengeance of a dead person, the affair is very quickly forgotten. For example, in examining the table of marriages among the various lineages, one ascertains that there are a number of normal unions between the Dipélu and the Awara Bakka.

643 In these kinds of affairs the grand man has two very
692 exact functions:

--To reveal pretense;

--To intervene as supreme arbiter in case of necessity.

[787] Each time that someone is attacked by a fit of possession
[775] and claims to speak in the name of a yɔrka coming to exercise a kunu, the lineage head conducts him to the grand man who makes sure that there is no question of pretense.

643 The grand man, in the thought of the Boni, has the
775 power to compel any yɔrka to manifest itself.

787 He conducts the person concerned to the fraga tiki and
695 invokes the yɔrka. If pretense is involved, the individual will not be able to articulate a syllable. If it is true possession, the yɔrka will speak through his mouth.

643 /235 cont./

775 A few years ago a Kormotibo woman was thus confounded.
787 She had wanted to pretend possession by a yɔrka in order to
695 blackmail another family.

Grand Man Difu recently forbade the bequeathing of gods
784 and yɔrka exercising the kunu (1). People will wait for them to manifest themselves of their own accord. That will reduce the risks of pretense.

643 The grand man's lineage does not exercise any kunu upon
613 another lineage, and no kunu is exercised upon it. For the Boni
775 this is a fundamental idea, because the grand man is precisely
784 the supreme recourse in case of persistent calamities attributed to the yɔrka of a dead person. The grand man has the power to exorcise all the dead Boni. If his lineage exercised a kunu or were victim of one, he would be judge and litigant at the same time.

When, with the death of Grand Man Difu, the Dikan lineage is extinct, and when the function passes to another lineage, consideration of the kunu exercised by the lineages upon one another will be determinative in the choice of his successor.

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Divination; Premonition; Dreams

182 Divination. It plays an essential role among the Refugee Blacks as in all animistic societies. Individuals have recourse to it to inspire all important discussions; in large measure one can say that for them it takes the place of will and conscience.

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643 1. Let us recall that the dead
[787] are questioned on this subject as for the apportionment of the rest of their heritage.

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754 Trial for sorcery does not exist among the Boni, but a
787 procedure exists which allows for pinning down suspicions.

After each death the dead person is asked the question: Is it wisi that killed thee? The question is put last (they first ask kunu, then fyo-fyo /see p. 398/).

If it is wisi, they ask: Is it such-and-such a family? (In general it is in the lineage itself), then the names of the lineage members are uttered successively until there is a positive response.

754 The one who is thus accused of wisi can be summoned
695 to justify himself before the grand man, but that can only have the character of an investigation and not a trial. The suspected individual may not be challenged. They accept the fact that it is only a matter of presumption and that the dead accuser can lie, pursuing vengeance beyond the grave.

The Refugee Blacks declare that there is no certainty about wisi.

754 A remarkable principle of customary law is that if a
613 member of a matrilineage /240/ is believed to have killed one
692 of his "brothers," the judiciary power of the Boni cannot interfere. It is an affair purely within the lineage.

754 Thus no one can be challenged or expelled for an act of sorcery. If one suspects somebody strongly, one will avoid him, one will turn the cold shoulder to him, all the time remaining polite, but one will not show anything. To this principle is attached a very noble idea, that of the interdiction of vengeance. He who is victim of sorcery must under no circumstances do countersorcery. He can only ask for the protection of the ɔbia. One must not under any circumstances ask a divinity or his ancestors to harm his aggressor.

754 Among the Refugee Blacks there is only one sanction
775 against the wisimã: They will necessarily be found out at their
787 death. The yɔrka of the dead person, interrogated by the elders,

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751 789 Renewal of the power of the ɔbia. The Refugee Blacks have the idea that no magic power can last if it is not renewed by formulas and offerings appealing to the god from which it came. [824] Each year, at variable dates for each ɔbia, one must renew the power of the ɔbia by dipping the support object into a maceration of certain leaves. This renewal may not take place on January 1. On that day all leaves lose their power. /252/

[768] Mr. W. F. van Lier writes that among the Djuka, objects (bracelets, etc.) serving as support for a magic remedy are thrown away upon the death of the owner for they have lost [184] [428] all power. The Boni do not have this conception; with them, these objects keep their value for the dead person's son provided that before dying he voluntarily transmitted them to him by giving him mula.

789 428 613 Transmission of ɔbia. An ɔbia is often bequeathed simultaneously to a son and to a nephew. Care is taken not to lose the ɔbia for the lineage. Thus it is that certain lineages have certain ɔbia as their specialty.

789 [171] Kãndu. The Refugee Blacks call kãndu a magic object intended to protect property (houses, harvests) against theft. This procedure is also very much used by the Creoles.

There are three common kinds of kãndu:

--Piiti tiki kãndu. It is made of a split stick stuck into the ground, in the slit of which dry banana leaves or small sticks are placed horizontally. This device originated in Dahomey.

--Sikopu kãndu. It involves a shovel stuck into the ground in front of the house (the idea of the shovel is associated with the idea of death, for this instrument is used particularly in digging graves).

--Bɔɔ kãndu, made up of a bow and arrow planted in the ground.

752 834 [171] /255 cont./
obiaman who treats a wound made by a firearm to observe chastity during the whole duration of the treatment. It is for this reason that the Boni hesitate to have gunshot wounds cared for in hospitals.

784 [262] Kina. The interdictions of the Refugee Blacks generally have to do with food. There are five categories of them to our knowledge:

[753] --Bwasi kina, basic kina, mark of patrilineages, the breaking of which gives leprosy;

--Akka kina, often called gadu kina, established by divination and believed to be imposed by the akka;

--Gadu kina, mark of possession by a divinity;

--Obia kina, interdiction attached to each object involving a magic power, and which must be observed for this power to last;

--Finally, local kina, particularly the kina dɛ, days of rest, going back to the idea of the day of rest of the local divinity. They observe, for example, that the Mana River has a kina dɛ on Sunday. The Saramaka observe it strictly. The Boni we took on the Mana in 1949 went to find out from the Saramaka, and asked us to stop navigation on Sunday, [648] for this kina was very urgent. It is noteworthy however that the Boni bow in such circumstances before the will of the Europeans, as with respect to their own kina dɛ of Friday; in effect they are assuming that if they are ordered to be on duty, it is the European alone who bears the responsibility for breaking the kina.

[428] [114] [613] It is possible that the kina alluded to by Mr. W. F. Van Lier and which, among the Djuka, would be imposed on a whole matrilineage are also local kina; in any case no kina is transmissible through the mother, all the Refugee Blacks are explicit on that point.

/266 cont./

845 When twins die young people almost always blame a
761 disagreement which has arisen in the lineage. The twins
578 did not want to live in a disunited family. The head of the
613 lineage then exhorts his people to be reconciled with one
another at any cost in order to avoid new misfortunes (1).

[753] 1. In general they have the idea that dissensions occurring in the lineage have as a consequence illnesses or misfortunes striking the members of the lineage.
[182] This notion plays a major role in the social life of the Refugee Blacks; after the kunu, it is the principle cement holding groups together.

845 One who harms a twin is sure to fall ill. Conversely,
778 it is assumed that the twin must not abuse his power, that he must lead an upright life and avoid quarrels. He is nearer to God than other men.

They assume for example that Efa, of Papalston village, herself a twin and the mother of twins, has a very special power. Nobody would risk harming her.

[613] In lineages having many twins there exists a place of
[774] worship sacred to a vital principle called Twilenge. The nature of this principle is not clear. The Boni define it as the soul of twins. Is it a matter of the first twins Adam and Eve? Or of a collective worship offered up to all deceased twins?

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845 782 751 This worship is celebrated each time there is occasion to protect newborn babies. They are washed with a certain decoction of leaves.

845 535 751 Every four or five years on the average a big dance takes place, then the father and mother of twins and the twins themselves are washed in order to maintain their powers and keep them in good health.

[784] [753] If these dances are not held, dead twins will show their anger by making living twins and parents of twins sick.

845 613 778 Lineages that do not have twins do not practice these rites. If twins are born to them, they will apply at the place of worship of another lineage.

Papaïston and Lapé have this cult particularly highly developed.

842 776 Tɔne pikin. It is assumed that a woman may be made pregnant by a river god, either a Papa gadu snake god or by the Wata Ingi, which look like Indians. Children thus conceived are called tɔne pikin.

A..., of Papaïston, had cut a clearing opposite a remarkable white rock called Weti stɔ̃, where she used to moor her boat. She had not had any children for several years
[787] [778] [782] and she became pregnant. When her daughter was born a possessed person revealed that she was born of a Papa gadu snake god which lived there: since then her parents /relatives/ go regularly to this rock to make offerings.

About 1910 Alama (Kormotibo) had followed her husband to a shipyard on the lower river; one day while walking in the forest she met an Indian having the appearance of a Galibi Indian, who was carrying a newborn baby. She stopped and admired the baby. The Indian said to her: "Do you wish to raise him?" She acquiesced. He said: "We shall see each other again"; then he went away so quickly that she had the impression that he had disappeared on the spot.

/259 cont./

771 [782] to the god, and their words of thanks lasted scarcely half a minute (1). At the time of our first trip on the Maruini, in 1948, the same scenes had unfolded, going as well as coming back.

241 771

Rites Relative to Agriculture

These rites occupy a relatively minor place in the religious life of the Refugee Blacks, which may be attributed to the great regularity of the climate and the absence of calamities affecting the yield of crops.

[613] It does not seem, at least among the Boni, that a religious bond is assumed between the lineage and the land, and rites intended to insure the fertility of the soil are carried out by each one for himself in the neighborhood of his own field; the lineage head does not appear to play any particular role in this regard. In the thought of the Boni, 241 776 the fertility of the soil depends upon a local divinity, to which is offered de facto worship; the temporary or permanent users of the lands situated in the domain of this god perform on their own behalf the rites of this worship without any distinction of origin, whether they are Boni, Djuka, or Saramaka.

[796] [793] [643] The only collective worship existing in Boni country is the worship of mama gɔ̃, of which the grand man is priest. Its rites are limited to a short annual prayer.

1. Yet custom expressly provides for this rite of thanking.

/280 cont./

539 During the night he got up and went and untied the ox which escaped into the bush.

The next day he said to the *bachia*: "*Bachia*, please go and get my ox." The *bachia* looked for it in vain. He said: "Anansi, the ox has escaped into the bush." We shall give you another." -- "That won't do," said Anansi; "I was passing by on the river and you called me without any reason. Give me the dead child."

They said: "Uncle Anansi, we cannot give him to you, he is already in the coffin." "Let's make an end of it," said Anansi, "you are provoking me." The *bachia* went to tell the mother (of the dead child) that a misfortune had arrived(1).

[764]
[613]
[593]

1. It is to be noted that it is not from the lineage head that one asks for authorization to dispose of the body, but from the mother alone.

She agreed to it. They broke the coffin and gave the body to Anansi. He put it in the bow of the boat and paddled until he came to a big bend in the river. Once out of sight of the village people, he /281/ made a little paddle. He went to the bow seat of the boat, he fastened the dead child to it with glue. He put the body in a sitting position, as if it were alive, he fastened the paddle in its hand.

He paddled until he heard something like the noise of a boat. He said to himself: "Listen, stand up, perhaps a boat is coming." He placed the boat in the strongest part of the current, he paddled hard, standing in the stern. He heard better, he said: "It is a ship." He shouted: "Ah, ah! Today I meet thee, thou whom I sought for so long." He saw clearly that it was a ship. Comrades, he paddled in the current; the

/290 cont./

426 here, 5,000 there. But these loans are never large and do not constitute an effective process for grouping financial assets.

157
525 The so-called subscription societies so common in Black Africa are totally contrary to the thinking of the Refugee Blacks, in the same way as games of chance. In 1958 the Maripasoula post, on the occasion of a festival, had organized a tombola. When the principle of it was explained to the Boni, they were unanimous in thinking that the Europeans had odd amusements. Few of them agreed to buy tickets, and the ones who had not won anything left embittered, with the feeling of having been involved in an immoral operation.

157
571 High esteem attached to contracts. This inaptitude for forming groups and combining assets contributes very much toward crystallizing the society of the Refugee Blacks in its present form by opposing all large-scale initiative. On the other hand,
157
577
426 it develops the sense of personal responsibility. The Refugee Blacks are especially strict with respect to money (1).

[648] 1. This with regard to their mutual relations; as for debts to Europeans, they are not prompt in paying them back; but marked deception, borrowing done for the purpose of swindling, are very rare with the Refugee Blacks.

[829] Custom lays down as a strict principle that everything must be paid for. No one may live at the expense of someone
[613] else, no one may borrow without paying back. If a man died before repaying a debt, the members of his lineage would club together to pay it off.

6: Hurault

SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

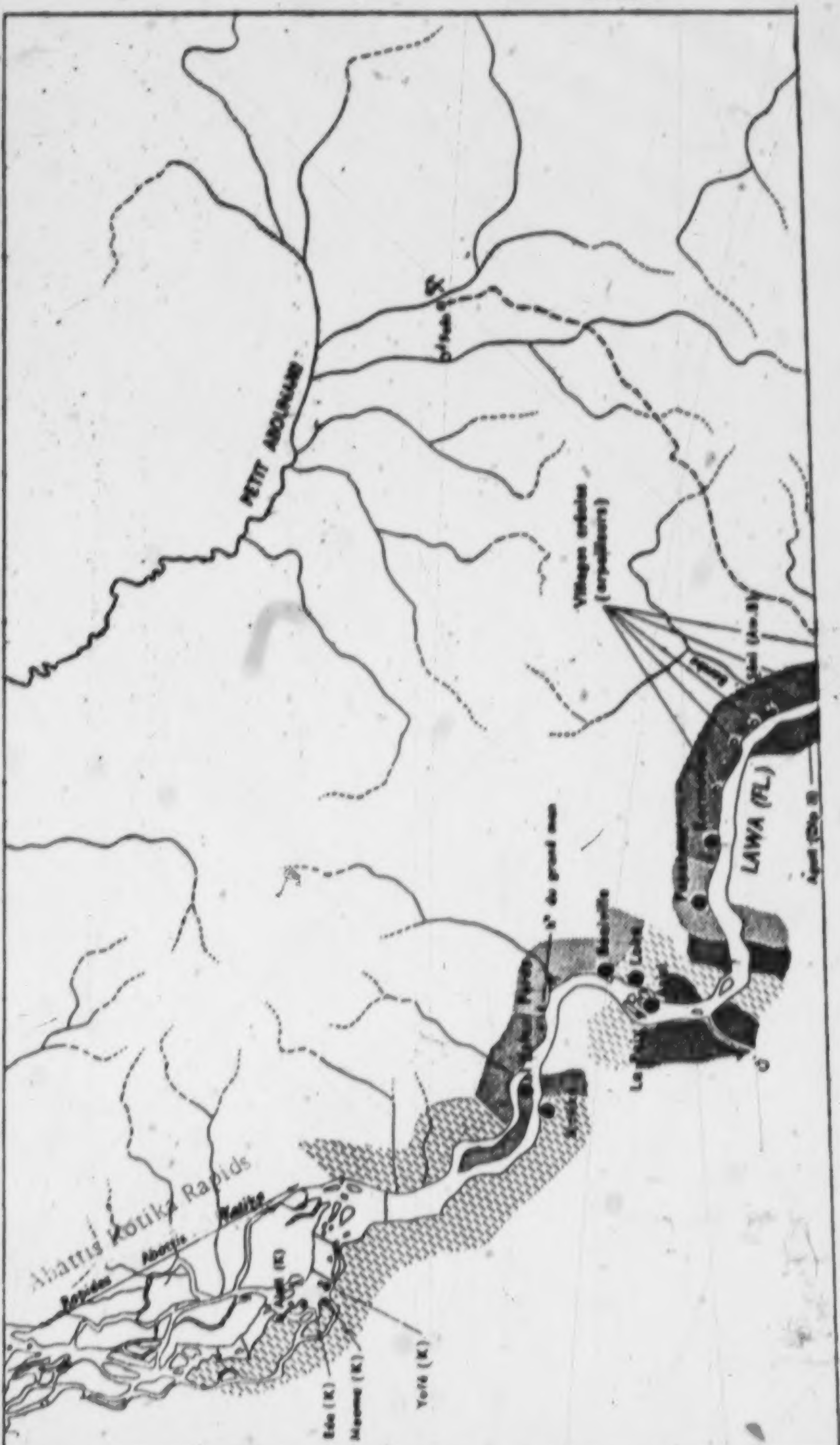
102
103
131
133
162
311
316
361
423
● 613
614
621

A (p. 576)
B (p. 577)
C (p. 578)
D (p. 579)

Chart of Positions of End Map /facing p. 576/

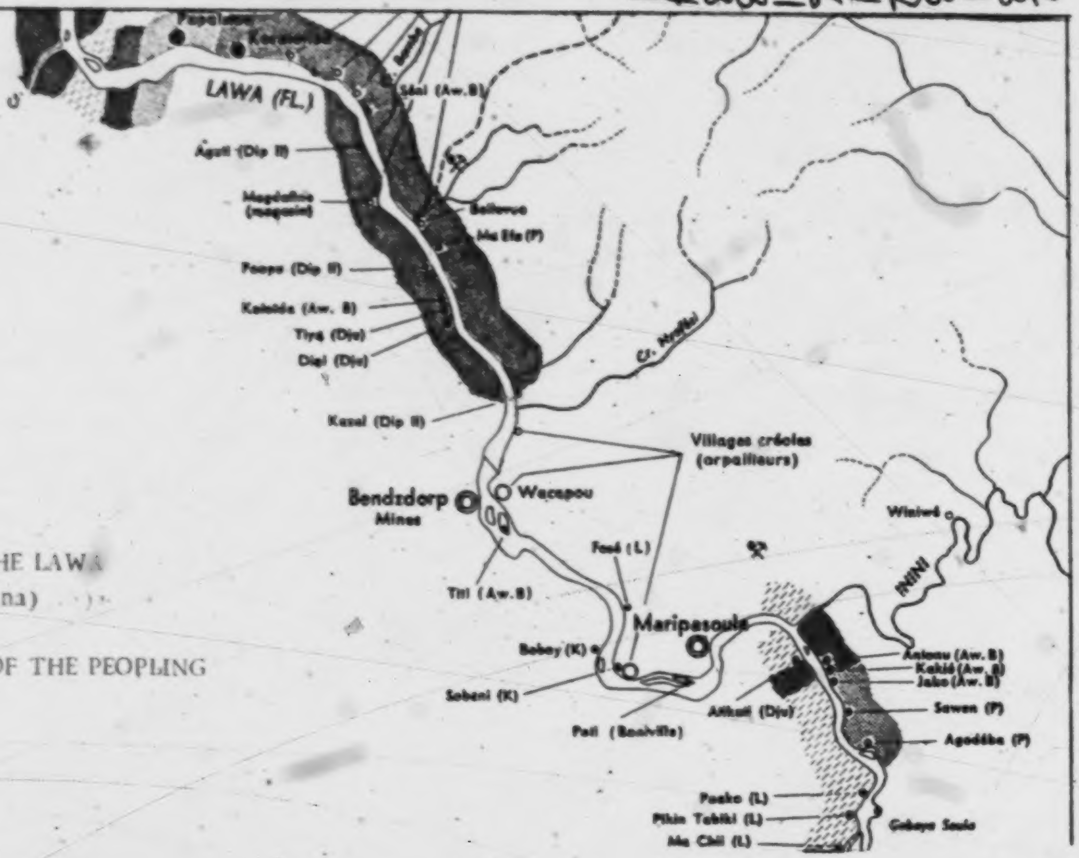
6:Hurault--576 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

102
103
131
133
162
311
316
361
423
● 613
614
621


PETIT ABOUNAMI
Villages créoles
(orpailleurs)
LAWA (FL.)
S^t du grand man
Loka
La Paix
Abattis Kouka Rapids
Apoti (K)
Edo (K)
Moomo (K)
Yofé (K)

[End Map – A]

102
103
131
133
162
311
316
361
423
613
614
621


Papaïchton
Kormontibo
LAWA (FL.)
Boniba
Sàni (Aw.B)
Àgoti (Dip II)
Magdaléna (maquis)
Bellevue
Ma Efa (P)
Poope (Dip II)
Kaïnida (Aw. B)
Tiya (Dju)
Digi (Dju)
C. Hoffel
Kassel (Dip II)
Villages créoles (orpailleurs)
Bendzdorp Mines
Wacapou
Fasé (L)
Titi (Aw.B)
Wiaiwé
ININI
Maripasoula
Bobay (K)
Sobeni (K)
Pali (Bonivilla)
Atikati (Dju)
Antonu (Aw.B)
Kakié (Aw.B)
Jako (Aw.B)
Sawen (P)
Agodéba (P)
Pasko (L)
Pikin Tabiki (L)
Ma Chil (L)
Gobaye Soula

COURSE OF THE LAWA
(French Guiana)

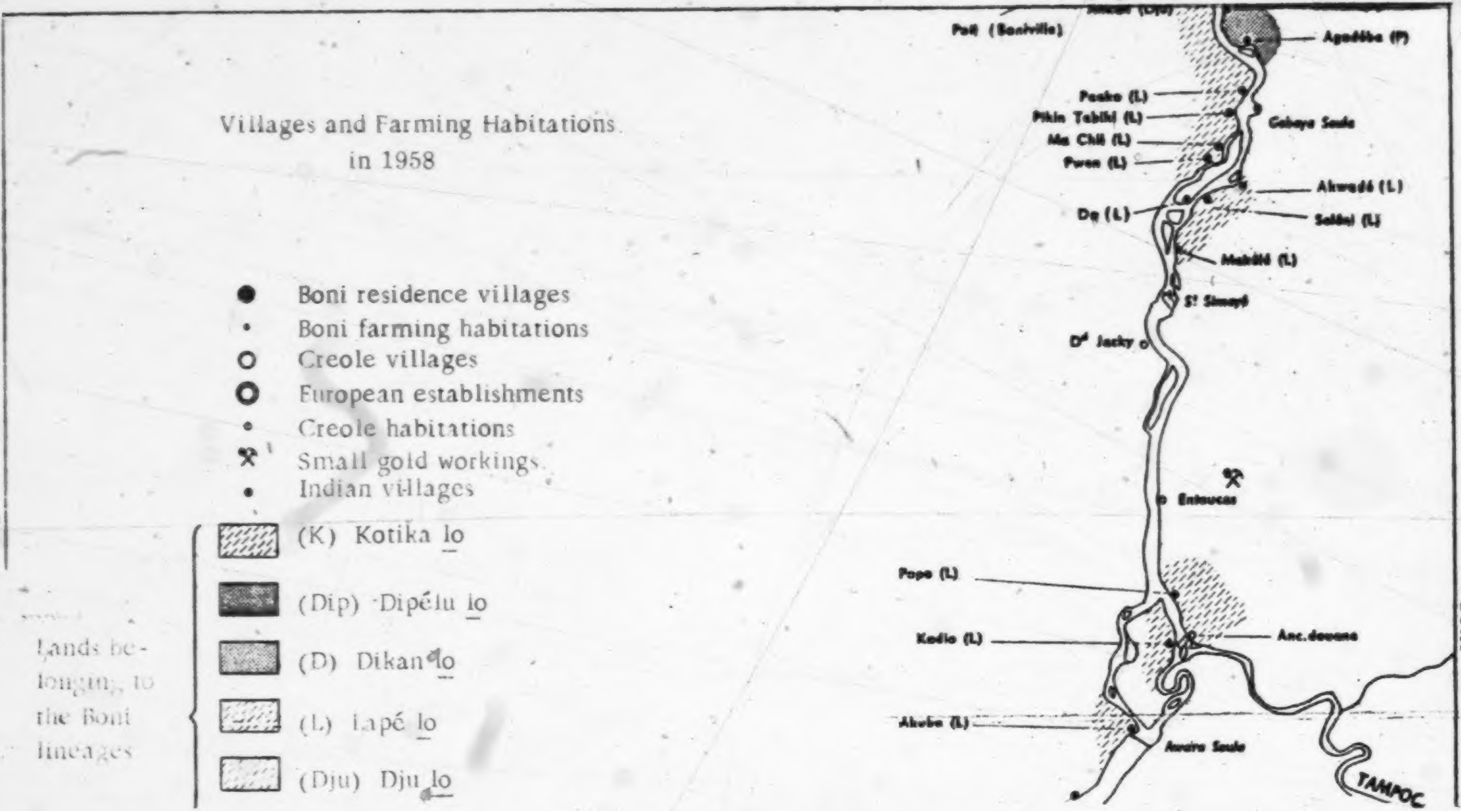
REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLING

[End Map - B]

102
103
131
133
162
311
316
361
423
613
614
621

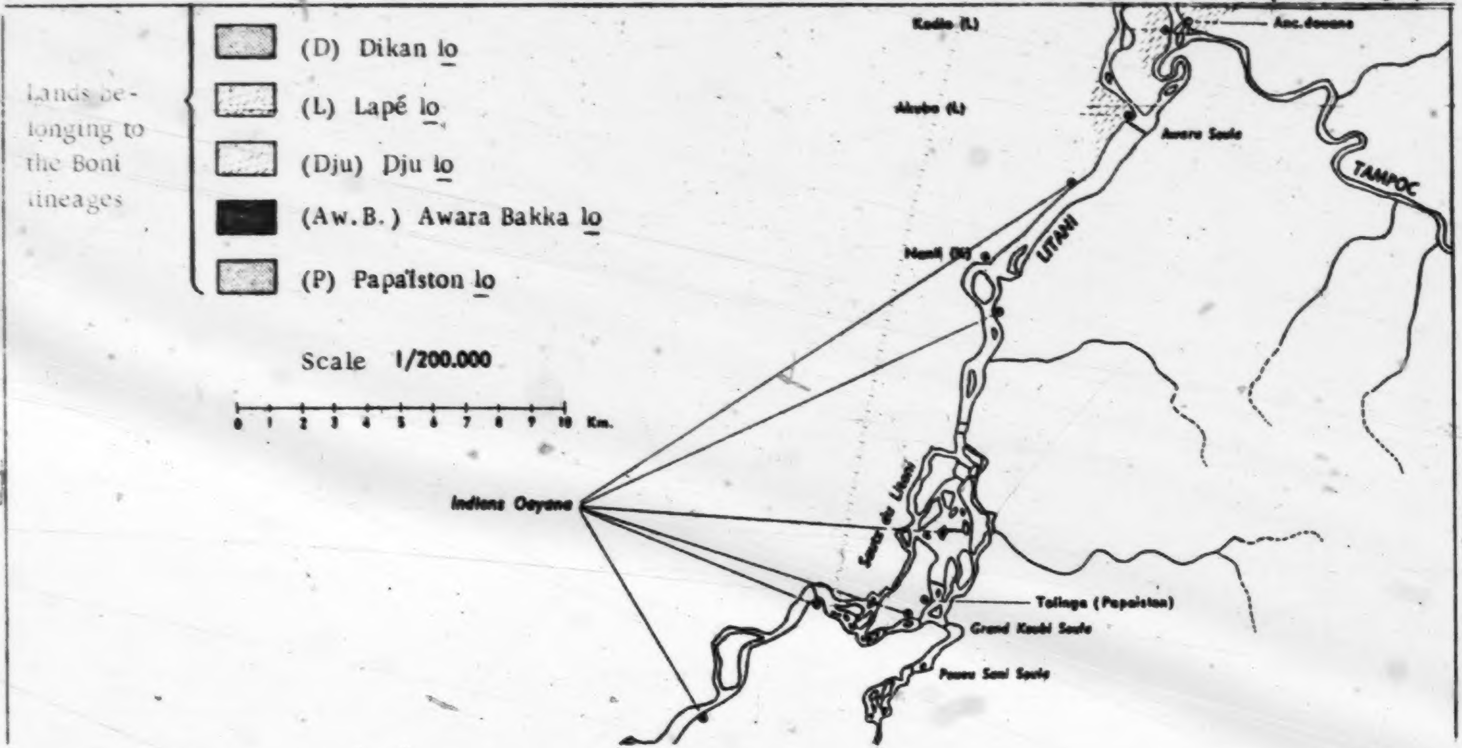
End Map - D

Villages and Farming Habitations in 1958


Pali (Bonivilla)
Agodèbe (P)
Pasko (L)
Pikin Tabiki (L)
Gobaya Saula
Ma Chili (L)
Pwen (L)
Akwadé (L)
Da (L)
Solèni (L)
Mabiló (L)
St Simayé
Dd Jacky
Enteucas
Papa (L)
Kadio (L)
Anc.douane
Akuba (L)
Awaira Saula
TAMPOC
● Boni residence villages
• Boni farming habitations
○ Creole villages
○ European establishments
• Creole habitations
⚒ Small gold workings
• Indian villages
Lands belonging to the Boni lineages
▨ (K) Kotika lo
▨ (Dip) Dipélu lo
▨ (D) Dikan lo
▨ (L) Lapé lo
▨ (Dju) Dju lo

6:Hurault--579 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

102
103
131
133
162
311
316
361
423
613
614
621


Lands be-longing to the Boni lineages
▨ (D) Dikan lo
▨ (L) Lapé lo
▨ (Dju) Dju lo
■ (Aw.B.) Awara Bakka lo
▨ (P) Papaïston lo
Scale 1/200.000
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Km.
Kadio (L)
Anc. douane
Akubo (L)
Awara Soula
TAMPOC
LITANI
Nanti (N)
Indiens Oayana
Sources du Litani
Tolinga (Papaïston)
Grand Koubi Soula
Pousu Soni Soula

[D - Map End]

6: Hurault

SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

102
103
133
241
311
361
423
487
504
● 613
614

A (p. 580)	B (p. 581)	C (p. 582)	D (p. 583)

Chart of Positions of End Plate /facing p. 580/

DIVISION OF LANDS AMONG THE LINEAGES IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD OF THE PRINCIPAL BONI VILLAGES

102
103
133
241
311
361
423
489
●613
614
504

Photographic montage made with the help of
photographs of Field Trip 007/200 IGN Guiana
Scale 1/20 000 Taken in October, 1956

[End Plate -A]

102
103
133
241
311
361
423
487
●613
614
764
504

Scale 1/20 000

0m 200m 400m 600m 800m 1km

[End Plate - B]

6:Hurault--582 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

Boni

102
103
133
241
311
361
423
487
504
● 613
614

Loka
Lapé
Awara
Bakka

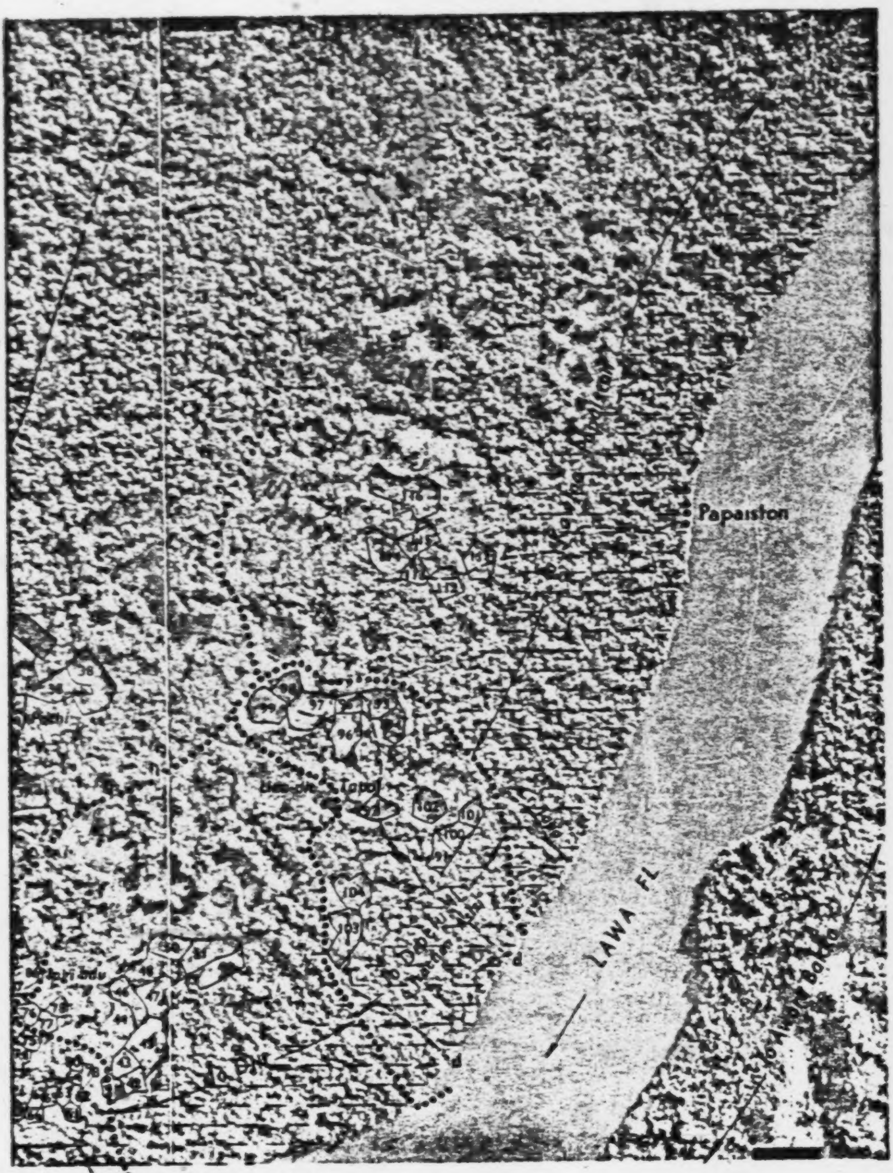
Scale 1/20000

800m 1km

[End Plate - C]

E:Hurault--583 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

102
103
133
241
311
361
423
487
504
● 613
614


Papaiston
LAWA FL
96
97
98
99
100
101
102
103
104
d
d

⁖ Agodé Permanent villages
◇ —— clearings
-=- —— floodable zones
..?.... —— boundaries not known
• h° farming habitation
• d dégrad (wharf)
- - - path
.... approximate boundaries of agricultural land

[End Plate - D]